

DAILY REPORT

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Eastern Europe

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FURTHER REPORTAGE ON SOFIA WARSAW PACT MEETING

Balev, Stanishev Attend Luncheon

AU141638 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Excerpts] Comrade Todor Zhivkov gave a luncheon in honor of the participants in the session of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee. Comrades Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev also attended the luncheon.

Zhivkov Receives Gromyko

AU141626 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Today Comrade Todor Zhivkov met Andrey Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and USSR minister of foreign affairs. During the talks, they exchanged information on the most important trends of the political and organizational work of the BCP and CPSU in mobilizing the broad masses for fulfilling the decisions of both the 12th BCP Congress and the 26th CPSU Congress. The relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union in all spheres were highly appraised. It was noted with deep satisfaction that comprehensive cooperation between the two countries is expanding each passing year and that the interaction in the international arena is becoming ever closer.

The determination of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union was expressed to comprehensively strengthen the unity of the socialist community, to assist the effective interaction among the Warsaw Pact countries, and to appropriately rebuff all attempts of the imperialists to disunite the ranks of the socialist countries.

Views on topical international issues and particularly the issues affecting the situation on the European Continent were also exchanged. A full unanimity of views on all issues discussed was also confirmed at the talks.

Gromyko Reports to Zhivkov

AU141540 Sofia BTA in English 1500 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Excerpts] Sofia, Oct 14 (BTA) -- Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council received the participants in the sitting of the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

Mr Andrey Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU, first deputy-chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, who presided over the last sitting, reported on the results of the work of the committee. Mr Todor Zhivkov congratulated the participants in the meeting with the successful ending of the committee's sitting.

Mr Todor Zhivkov conveyed greetings to the top leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member-states. The meeting which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere was attended by: Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, Mr Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy-minister of foreign affairs of the GDR, Mr Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, Mr Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs of Hungary and Mr Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia.

Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council gave a dinner for the participants in the sitting of the Committee of the Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

More on Meeting

AU141835 Sofia BTA in English 1758 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Excerpts] Sofia, Oct 14 (BTA) -- Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, met Mr Andrey Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU, first deputy-chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR who is on a visit to Bulgaria for participation in the sitting of the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Treaty member-states. Mr Andrey Gromyko conveyed cordial greetings and good wishes to Mr Todor Zhivkov from the Soviet leadership and personally from Mr Yuriy Andropov. On his behalf Mr Todor Zhivkov conveyed cordial greetings and best wishes to Mr Yuriy Andropov and the Soviet leaders.

High assessment was given to Bulgarian and USSR relations in all spheres. It was found with deep satisfaction that the all-round cooperation between the two countries is ever more extending its spheres with every passing year, and the interrelations on the international arena are becoming ever closer. There was stressed the paramount importance of the summit meetings between the two parties and states' leaders for the development of the fraternal friendship between the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples which is laid down on the basis of the indissoluble union between the BCP and the CPSU, of their loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Views were also exchanged on topical international matters, especially on questions related to the situation in the European Continent.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov gave high assessment to the USSR's peaceful Leninist policy and expressed full backing to Mr Yuriy Andropov's declaration of September 28, this year, which is a document of a paramount political importance. He stressed that in the declaration there is contained a principled assessment of the U.S. present government's militarist course in the international relations and it resists President Reagan's gross attacks against the Soviet Union and the socialist community. Bulgaria and the Soviet Union's consistent striving, jointly with the other fraternal countries, to continue to make every possible effort in the future to halt the arms race, to eliminate the danger of nuclear threat, to heal the international political climate is underlined. The complete identity of views on all topics discussed was confirmed at the meeting.

Andrei Meets Zhivkov

AU141953 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1923 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Sofia AGERPRES 14/10/1983 -- From Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, president of Romania, and from Elena Ceausescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, Romanian first deputy prime minister, Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs, now in Sofia to attend a meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty, addressed a heartfelt salute and best wishes to Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the CC of the BCP, president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Thanking, Todor Zhivkov asked that Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu be conveyed a fraternal salute and best wishes and expressed his profound satisfaction at the results of the recent visit he paid to Romania.

Minister Depart 14 Oct

AU141902 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] The following foreign ministers left Bulgaria today: Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy foreign minister of the GDR; Stefan Olszowski, Polish minister of foreign affairs; Stefan Andrei, Romanian minister of foreign affairs; and Peter Varkonyi, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs. They participated in the session of the Foreign Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Pact countries. At Sofia Airport they were seen off by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, deputy ministers and high-ranking officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mladenov Sees Off Gromyko

AU151424 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 15 Oct 83

[Text] Andrey Gromyko, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, who participated in the sessions of the Foreign Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Pact countries left Bulgaria today. At Sofia Airport he was cordially seen off by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, deputy ministers and high-ranking officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and by Leonid Grekov, Soviet ambassador to Bulgaria.

CTK Reports on Communique

LD141841 Prague CTK in English 1632 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Sofia [no date as received] -- Warsaw Treaty countries, aware of the pressing need to eliminate the danger of nuclear confrontation on the European Continent, address an urgent call on all NATO countries to do everything in their power to prevent deployment of new nuclear medium-range missiles in Europe, and to reduce the present level of these missiles on the continent.

The call was made in a communique issued here today, at the close of the regular session of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries which ended today in the Bulgarian capital.

The participants in the session pointed out that those states which would permit deployment of new intermediate-range nuclear missiles on their soil would bear heavy responsibility for the consequences of this step for peace and quiet in Europe because this would initiate a new stage of frantic nuclear buildup on the continent. The Warsaw Treaty countries called again for a speedy agreement to be reached at the Geneva negotiations on reduction of nuclear weapons in Europe which entered the decisive phase.

Agreement on medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe must be based on the principle of equality and equal security, and must contribute towards stabilizing the military-strategic situation and to an equilibrium of forces. This equilibrium must not rely on increases in nuclear weapons but on their reduction to ever lower levels, the communique said.

The participants expressed the conviction that it is still possible to reach agreement at the Geneva talks which would correspond with the interests of nations.

It was pointed out that if no agreement is reached at the talks by the end of the year, it is necessary to continue the negotiations, on condition that the United States and its NATO allies would forgo the deadlines which they had set for the deployment of new nuclear medium-range missiles.

The participants in the session pointed out that a major contribution to the creation of conditions for successful conclusion of the negotiations is the readiness of the Soviet Union to continue its unilateral freeze of medium-range nuclear missiles deployed in the European part of its territory, and to unilaterally reduce the level of these weapons which was started already when the freeze was announced.

The Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers reaffirmed that their states never sought and are not seeking military superiority, and recalled the declaration issued at a meeting in Moscow on June 28, 1983, that they will not permit anyone to achieve military superiority over them.

The governments of the NATO countries would make a grave mistake if they underestimated the significance of this declaration of the socialist countries, and if they refused to respond positively to their call to contribute to the strengthening of peace and security on the basis of parity of forces on ever lower levels of armament.

The participants in the session pointed out that there is a possibility to overcome the present dangerous situation in the international development. Evidence of this is also the debate on major international issues at the 38th session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Addresses of representatives of many states at the session expressed the firm determination of nations to resolutely remove all forms of the policy of strength and threats to use force. They called for the liquidation of the present hotbeds of conflicts and prevention of new ones and for an end to the imperialist policy of undeclared wars.

The states, represented at the session, confirmed their solidarity with nations struggling for freedom and independence, for the right to decide their own future in peace, without any external interference, in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

BTA ON WARSAW PACT 'CLEAR WARNING' TO WEST

AU141940 Sofia BTA in English 1916 GMT 14 Oct 83

["Constructive Stand" -- BTA headline; by BTA Observer Dimitur Shishmanov]

[Text] Sofia, Oct 14 (BTA) -- The documents approved in Sofia today by the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Treaty member-states testify to a great political feeling of responsibility for peace and security, for the fate and lives of the peoples and people in Europe and the world. They reveal realism, constructiveness and good will to find a way out of the deadlock at the Geneva talks.

The proposals made are resting on the only fair principle -- equality and equal security.

The documents approved in Sofia do not contain any militant declarations and threats, or any ultimatum terms. These are not the methods and means of their policy, they are somebody else's speciality.

The Warsaw Treaty states expressed conviction that there still exists a possibility to reach an agreement in Geneva. They stated that if no agreement is reached till the end of the year, the talks should be continued to a positive outcome. Here is a high political attitude to the cardinal issue of our time -- peace or nuclear disaster for mankind.

At the same time they draw the attention on the great danger of the inevitable start of a new round in the nuclear arms race provided the USA and NATO begin the deployment of the new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The warning is clear.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states declare they have never been and are not after any military superiority for themselves, but at the same time point out that they will never allow any military superiority of the other party. The NATO member-states would make a serious mistake if they underestimate the importance of this declaration of the socialist countries.

Here the warning is also clear.

Both the analysis of the international situation and the proposals and warnings are in a tone, form and content which help detente in the international political climate. They are aimed at creating conditions for a calm and sober discussion of the big issue of disarmament in order to reach agreements in the interest of detente and peace.

ECONOMIC PROTOCOL WITH GDR SIGNED IN SOFIA

AU141457 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] A protocol on the 20th session of the Bulgarian-GDR Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation has been signed at the Lozenets residence in Sofia. The document, which was signed by the two chairman of the commission, Andrey Lukanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Dr Herbert Weiz, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of science and technology; specified the further development of mutually beneficial cooperation in the spheres of economy, trade, science, and technology.

HUSAK RECEIVES CHRISTIAN PEACE DELEGATION

LD142329 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR, received in Prague Castle today, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Christian Peace Conference, a delegation of this international church organization headed by its president, Karoly Toth, from the Hungarian People's Republic. Bishop Karoly Toth informed the highest Czechoslovak representative about the principal aims of the Christian Peace Conference, which is to contribute to the efforts of progressive mankind to create a world free of wars and to call on churches to have an understanding for the building of new, socially just social systems in the world. An important activity of the Christian Peace Conference is the support of efforts to halt the arms race, to avert the threat of a nuclear conflict, and to strengthen peace in the world. This is why it is opposing the deployment of new American medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Karoly Toth went on to thank Czechoslovak organizations for their effective support for the Christian Peace Conference, which was founded in Czechoslovakia where it has had its seat from the very beginning. He spoke highly of the peace-loving policy of Czechoslovakia and of the contribution of its people to the peace efforts in the world.

Comrade Gustav Husak, in his reply, singled out the years of selfless activity of the Christian Peace Conference in support of the efforts to maintain world peace. Developments confirm that the mission of churches in the contemporary world is on the side of peace and understanding among nations. This is especially topical today when, as a result of the aggressive policy of the militaristic forces of international imperialism, the threat of a nuclear war has been increasing. To halt this dangerous development, to avert the threat of war is an urgent demand which concerns all people of good will.

The World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, which was held in Prague this year and in which the Christian Peace Conference actively participated, demonstrated the possibility as well as the need for all people to combine together to defend peace, regardless of the differences of their convictions, the color of their skins, their ideology or religious beliefs. Further strengthening this unity in the struggle for peace and, in the current period, in particular against the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe is the most important task of all peace-loving and progressive forces in the world. All the efforts of Czechoslovakia, of all Czechoslovak people, Gustav Husak stressed, are concentrated on ensuring peaceful conditions for the further development of our socialist homeland, for the development of mutually beneficial cooperation between nations, for halting the arms race and for disarmament. It is necessary to do everything possible to ensure that creative forces, talents, and energy of nations serve the wellbeing and better life of people.

In conclusion, the president of the Republic wished the Christian Peace Conference much success in its future activities.

CHNOUPEK COMMENTS ON SOFIA WARSAW PACT MEETING

LD142223 Prague CTK in English 1853 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Sofia (CETKA correspondent) -- Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek said today that the outcome of the session of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers is another proof of the continuing peace offensive of socialism.

He said the ministers carried out a sober, balanced analysis of present international relations, the development of which fully confirms the correctness of the evaluations made by the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in January and [word indistinct] representatives [words indistinct] socialist countries at their meeting in Moscow in June.

The militarist policy of the most aggressive forces of imperialism and the interests of its military-industrial complex are the reasons why the international atmosphere is increasingly tense and dangerous, Minister Chnoupek said.

The ministers noted with concern that NATO is taking the first steps toward the planned deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles, at a time when no progress was made at the talks on the reduction of nuclear missiles in Europe. That is why the ministers called for the speedy conclusion of an agreement on banning the deployment of new medium-range nuclear in Europe, and reducing the existing medium-range systems, which involves liquidating missiles as proposed by the Soviet Union. It is still possible to reach such an agreement, based on the principle of equality and equal security, Minister Chnoupek said.

Warsaw Pact foreign ministers agreed at their meeting here that if an agreement is not reached in Geneva by the end of the year, negotiations must be continued; of course if the United States and its NATO allies refrain from the deployment of the new missiles by the deadlines beginning with (?December) [words indistinct].

"The words of our communique that the Warsaw Pact countries [words indistinct] (?sought) military superiority but will never permit anyone to gain it over them are, in my view, a sufficiently eloquent argument for those NATO officials who still speculate with blackmailing socialism with the help [words indistinct] (?nuclear weapons)", Minister Chnoupek said.

[Words indistinct] to stress that the deliberations at the meeting in Sofia and its outcome represent a concretization of the [words indistinct] (?allround cooperation) within the Warsaw Pact in formulating joint positions and their assertion as required by the development of present-day international relations."

FRANCISCANS SENTENCED IN APPEAL COURT 30 SEP

LD132308 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1515 GMT 13 Oct 83

[Excerpt] There has been news about two trials that have recently taken place in Czechoslovakia. On 30 September the court in Plzen sentenced Father Jiri Mazanec to 8 years suspended imprisonment and Father Frantisek Pomotlo to 6 months suspended imprisonment. Throughout the duration of the trial, fellow brothers and friends of the two defendants, not permitted to enter the courtroom, were saying their rosary in front of the court building. This was an appeal trial since the two Franciscan friars had been sentenced in July to 3 and 6 months imprisonment but in spite of this they were released from prison on 4 September. They were accused of illegally publishing a typescript entitled "Franciscan Life," admitting into their religious order one novice, and celebrating holy mass in the presence of other priests. Father Mazanec and Father Pomotlo were arrested on 27 Marcy, on Palm Sunday, during a wave of arrests throughout the whole of Czechoslovakia. Two hundred and fifty people Franciscan friars and nuns, were detained at that time.

MORE MATERIALS ON VISIT OF AUSTRIAN PRESIDENT

Leaders in Eisenhuettenstadt

LD141429 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1112 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Frankfurt/Oder 14 Oct (ADN) -- Austria's President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger arrived on Friday morning in Eisenhuettenstadt (Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk) together with his host, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker. Both statesmen and other personalities from the GDR and Austria will see the converter steel works within the "Hermann Matern" strip steel works, which is being constructed by the Austrian Voest-Alpine Company together with other Austrian firms.

Honecker Attends Luncheon

LD141812 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1558 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Excerpt] Frankfurt/Oder, 14 Oct (ADN) -- The chairman of the council of the Bezirk Frankfurt (Oder), Siegfried Sommer, passed on the greetings of the area to the heads of state of Austria and the GDR on Friday at midday. At a lunch at Eisenhuettenstadt Hotel 'Lunik,' which he gave in honor of Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger in the presence of Erich Honecker, Siegfried Sommer said that in the bezirk one could point to very successful, long-term cooperation between the GDR and Austria. "This is only possible because you, Mr President, and you, Comrade Chairman of the State Council, have worked for cooperation," he stressed. The citizens of the bezirk are very grateful to them for this, especially in a time when there are forces which aim at increasing tension. The successful development of the bezirk on the Oder-Neisse peace border is a result of the policy of peace, of cooperation with the Soviet Union, and of peaceful coexistence.

Talks Conclude

LD141753 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1347 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Excerpt] Berlin, 14 Oct (ADN) -- The official talks between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, president of the Republic of Austria, were continued and successfully concluded on Friday morning. Once again the main topic of the talks was issues relating to the further development of bilateral relations and the contribution of both states to the securing of peace.

Both Erich Honecker and Dr Kirchschlaeger pointed out that good-neighborly cooperation between the GDR and the Republic of Austria has an international significance which goes far beyond the bilateral framework. It made clear the possibility and necessity of working to calm down the aggravated international situation, of promoting the continuation of cooperation between East and West, and of making an effective contribution to the securing of peace, to the improvement of the European and international climate. The main concern of the foreign policy of both states, that of contributing to the preservation and strengthening of peace and international security, was a firm basis for relations between the GDR and Austria. There were good conditions for the further deepening of all round cooperation. Great importance was attached to the deepening of mutually advantageous economic relations as well as to political dialogue between representatives of both states on various levels. A joint communique on the official talks was agreed.

WIENER ZEITUNG on Talks

AU141735 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 14 Oct 83 pp 1, 3

[Excerpts] Erfurt -- On the third day of his state visit to the GDR, President Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger visited the former Buchenwald concentration camp in which many Austrians also died and which has been remodeled into a "National Memorial and Monument."

An extensive communique on the conclusion of the state visit can be expected today. The fact that both State Council Chairman Erich Honecker and Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer attended the tour to Thuringia provided additional opportunities for talks.

According to information from delegation quarters, the bilateral problems discussed or brought up for discussion by the Austrian side concerned problems related to property, humanitarian hardship cases, and the facilitation of transit and tourism. The facilitation of transit involves achieving a smoother processing of transit from East to West Berlin, which is important for Austrian Airlines. As far as the facilitation of tourism is concerned, a proposal has been made that is similar to the one with the CSSR, for example, which has already accepted the solution that visas be issued free of charge to cultural workers, scientists, and sportsmen. Regarding hardship cases, the talks the president conducted earlier were further finalized.

Talks were also conducted at a luncheon between Foreign Minister Erwin Lanc and his GDR counterpart Oskar Fischer. A future visit of the GDR foreign minister was also discussed on that occasion, since former Foreign Minister Willibald Pahr was in Berlin in an official capacity last August.

Joint Communique

LD141708 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1304 GMT 14 Oct 83

["Joint Communique on the State visit of the Austrian President to the GDR" -- ADN
Headline]

[Text] Berlin, 14 Oct (ADN) -- The text of the joint communique on the state visit of the Austrian President to the GDR is as follows:

At the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, the federal president of the Republic of Austria, made a state visit to the GDR from 11 to 14 October 1983. The two heads of state had a detailed exchange of views on the current state and development of bilateral relations and on current international issues.

President Kirchschlaeger laid wreaths at the memorial to the victims of fascism and militarism in Berlin and at the national memorial in Buchenwald. He visited places of cultural and historical interest and factories in Berlin as well as in Erfurt and Frankfurt/Oder Bezirke.

The visits took place together with the chairman of the GDR State Council Erich Honecker. The official talks between the chairman of the GDR State Council and the president of Austria were attended by on the GDR side:

Dr Guenter Mittag, member of the State Council, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs; Dr Gerhard Beil, member of the Council of Ministers, state secretary, and first deputy minister of foreign trade; Frank-Joachim Herrmann, state secretary, head of the Chancery of the chairman of the State Council; Dr Horst Grunert, ambassador of the GDR to the Republic of Austria;

and on the Austrian side by: Erwin Lanc, minister of foreign affairs; Dr Erich Schmidt, state secretary in the Ministry for Trade, Commerce, and Industry; Dr Hellmuth Strasser, ambassador of the Republic of Austria to the GDR; Dr Wolfgang Loibl, cabinet director in the Chancery of the Austrian president; Dr Friedrich Bauer, head of the Political Section in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The two heads of state praised the good results in bilateral relations achieved since the visit of the Chairman of the GDR State Council Erich Honecker to Austria, and concurred in saying that their dynamic development forms a stable basis for the continuation and deepening of good-neighborly cooperation. They expressed their firm intention to further develop in an all-round way cooperation between the two states and peoples, on the basis of the Final Act of Helsinki and of the final document of the Madrid meeting, to mutual advantage and in the interests of peace and the relaxation of the international situation.

Erich Honecker and Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger agreed that, in carrying this out, the continuation and further deepening of political dialogue between the highest political representatives and government members in all spheres and the further development of contacts between people in both states have even more importance.

The two sides devoted particular attention to the further development and deepening of economic relations. They agreed in stressing that these have developed in many ways and to mutual advantage. The exchange of goods between the two states rose significantly on the basis of the long-term trade and payments agreement concluded in 1980. In addition to the actual exchange of goods, further and multifarious forms of cooperation, of production specialization, of scientific-technological cooperation, and cooperation in third markets have developed between Austrian companies and foreign trade enterprises and combines in the GDR.

Both sides agreed to further develop and deepen cooperation in these spheres. Both sides pointed to the great advantages of mutual inclusion in investment activities and rationalization plans relating to equipment and large-scale projects. It was noted with satisfaction that the proportion of Austrian small and medium-sized specialist firms engaged in trade between the two countries has continued to rise. The two sides expressed their conviction that long-term, uninterrupted, mutually-advantageous economic relations will continue to be a stable basis for overall relations between the two states.

The two parties paid tribute to the good, smooth running development of relations between the two states in science and technology, in culture, in education, in sport, in youth tourism, as well as in the humanitarian field, and they agreed to continue and deepen cooperation in all these areas. In this connection they stressed the importance of the many different treaties signed and their implementation.

In their discussion of the international situation, both Erich Honecker and Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger stressed that today more than ever the preservation and strengthening of peace is of fundamental importance. Both sides agreed that hence the most important task of all states must be to secure peace and promote initiatives which lead to a reduction of tensions. The two statesmen noted that in this process the removal of existing areas of conflict and the prevention of new ones are vital tasks.

They spoke in favor of a decisive change toward the policy of detente and constructive cooperation between states.

The two heads of state stressed that the first priority is putting an end to the arms limitation and disarmament -- in nuclear and all other kinds of weapons -- which would guarantee the security interests of all states on the basis of balance. They expressed their conviction that in this connection early agreements were necessary on the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapon arsenals and on the limitation of their qualitative development.

The two sides stressed the significance of the Geneva negotiations between the USSR and the United States on the limitation of nuclear medium-range systems in Europe as well as on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms for the further development of the situation in Europe and in the world. They expressed the hope that these negotiations would soon lead to a positive result. Both sides spoke in support of a military balance of power at the lowest possible level.

Both statesmen stressed the need for the strengthening of trust between states and spoke in favor of effective measures for the pursuance of this aim. Erich Honecker reaffirmed the GDR's positive reaction to the Swedish proposal for creating a zone in central Europe free of tactical nuclear weapons on both sides of the dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. He underlined the readiness of the GDR to make available its entire territory for such a zone on the basis of equality and equal security.

Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger stated Austria's interest in the idea -- floated by Sweden -- of a nuclear disengagement in central Europe. In view of the complexity of the matter, he stressed the need for an exhaustive examination and careful weighing of all aspects of this proposal.

In the course of the exchange of views, Erich Honecker expressed his conviction that the proposals put forward in January and June of this year by the Warsaw Pact states point a realistic way to the improvement of the international situation. He reaffirmed the GDR's readiness to become involved in the practical discussion of the proposal to conclude a treaty on the mutual renunciation of military force and on the preservation of peaceful relations between the states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, a treaty which would be open to every state in the world.

Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger said that the proposed treaty on the nonuse of force would have to reinforce the general ban on force contained in the UN Charter. Such a treaty could be a constructive contribution to the strengthening of world peace if it underpins this ban on force, for example by additional measures for confidence-building, and ensures that states outside the treaty are protected by the general ban on the use of force.

Both sides said that all disputes and international conflicts should be settled by peaceful means, with strict observance of international law, particularly of the principles and norms of the UN Charter.

Both parties to the talks welcomed the successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting of the CSCE states with a substantive and balanced final document. Of particular importance for the normalization of the situation in Europe, the strengthening and deepening of trust, is the agreement reached at the meeting on the calling of a conference on confidence and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe. At the same time, the GDR and Austria affirm their determination to continue to work for the preservation and deepening of the process of security and cooperation initiated by the Helsinki Conference.

Both sides indicated their concern about developments in the Near East and stressed the need for the achievement as soon as possible of a comprehensive and just agreement. They concurred in stating that a lasting and just peace could only be achieved by a comprehensive solution of Middle East problems with the participation of all interested parties.

The two heads of state paid tribute to the neutral and nonaligned states in international efforts for the preservation of peace, for disarmament, and for political and economic cooperation on equal terms without intervention and pressure from outside.

The GDR and Austria attach great importance to the further strengthening of the role of the United Nations for the preservation and strengthening of peace and security and for the development of peaceful cooperation. They strive to contribute to the raising of its effectiveness on the basis of the conscientious observance of its charter.

Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, and Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, president of the Republic of Austria, expressed their satisfaction about the results of the state visit and noted that these would be useful for the further development of relations between the two states and peoples and for peace.

Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, president of the Republic of Austria, invited Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, to pay a state visit to Austria. The invitation was accepted with thanks. The date of the visit will be agreed upon later through diplomatic channels.

Honecker Sees Off Kirchschlaeger

LD141758 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1551 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Berlin, 14 Oct (ADN) -- Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, the president of the Republic of Austria, ended his 4-day state visit to the GDR on Friday morning. He was cordially seen off at Berlin's Schoenefeld Airport by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

GROMYKO TO VISIT GDR AFTER TALKS WITH GENSCHER

LD141411 Hamburg DPA in German 1344 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Excerpt] East Berlin 14 Oct (DPA) -- According to information from diplomatic sources, following his meeting with Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Vienna over the weekend, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko will go to East Berlin to brief the GDR leaders. He is expected there on Monday, it was said today.

HOFFMANN GREETS JARUZELSKI ON ARMY DAY

AU131707 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Oct 83 p 5

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- Army General Heinz Hoffmann, GDR minister for national defense, has conveyed most cordial congratulations and fraternal militant greetings to Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZRP Central Committee and minister for national defense of the Polish People's Republic, on the 40th anniversary of the Polish Army. "This historic event is a welcome opportunity for me to praise the traditional friendship and fraternal cooperation between our peoples and armies," the message states.

"The Polish Army has always stood its test as a firm class and arms brother in complicated situations and is making a significant contribution to the secure military protection of our community of socialist states at the side of the Soviet Army and the other armies of the Warsaw Pact." The members of the National People's Army of the GDR wished their Polish comrades-in-arms much success in fulfilling their responsible tasks to guarantee the socialist development of the Polish People's Republic and oppose any attempt to destabilize the situation in the center of Europe.

TRADE PROTOCOL WITH NORWAY SIGNED 12 OCT

LD122342 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1457 GMT 12 Oct 83

[Text] Berlin, 12 Oct (ADN) -- During the sixth meeting of the GDR-Norway Joint Commission, which took place in Berlin from 10 October 1983, Dr Gerhard Beil, member of the GDR Trade Ministry, received the head of the Norwegian delegation, Tor Berntin Nassm for an exchange of views. They agreed that there is scope for a further expansion of trade between the GDR and Norway.

Also present were the head of the GDR side in the joint commission, Siebold Kirsten, and Norwegian ambassador to the GDR, Per Borgen. The joint commission discussed possibilities for increasing trade and trade in licenses and industrial-technical cooperation. A joint protocol was signed at the end of the meeting.

BRIEFS

GDR POPULATION STATISTICS -- Berlin, 12 Oct (DPA) -- The GDR population continues to decrease even though more children were born last year than old people died. According to Berlin's Information Bureau West on Wednesday, this decrease is due to the number of emigrations from the GDR. According to the latest "GDR Statistical Pocket Book", the number of inhabitants in 1982 dropped by 3,329 compared with the previous year to 16,702,000. In view of the fact that, according to provisional figures, the number of births of 240,102 exceeded the number of deaths of 227,989 by 12,113 it can be reckoned that about 15,000 people were lost through emigration. According to the "GDR Statistical Pocket Book," there was also a drop in the number of marriages in 1982 and an increase in divorce. The number of marriages dropped by 3,284, compared to the previous year, to 124,890. The number of divorces rose to nearly 50,000. This represents 3 divorces for every 1,000 inhabitants. This high rate of divorce -- in the Federal Republic in 1981 there were less than 1.8 divorces per 1,000 inhabitants -- represents a record in GDR history. [Text] [Hamburg DPA in German 1106 12 Oct 83 LD]

MSZMP CENTRAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT TEXT

LD141205 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Budapest, October 13 (MTI) — As reported earlier, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held a session on 12 October 1983, with Janos Kadar in the chair. The session of the Central Committee discussed and approved the following:

- the report on topical international issues submitted by Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee;
- the draft statement on the development of trade union work and the tasks of the party submitted by Karoly Nemeth, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee;
- the proposal for the abolishment of county boroughs and the development of local party and state management submitted by Mihaly Korom, member of the Politburo Committee, and secretary of the Central Committee; and
- the report on topical economic issues submitted by Ferenc Havasi, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee.

Surveying the topical issues of the international situation and the political activity of party and state organs carried out since the latest session, the Central Committee stated that the international atmosphere had further deteriorated. The schemes of the extreme circles of imperialism, their attempts to gain military superiority and to interfere with different local conflicts, pose grave dangers to world peace. The propaganda drive against the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and progressive forces has strengthened. The imperialist circles want to have by all means their armament plans accepted. The cooperation of states and groups of states is aggravated also by the persistence of difficulties in world economy.

In this situation it is highly important that the governments and political factors who share responsibility for the fate of the world apply circumspection to international issues. It is in the interest of the peoples of European countries and the whole mankind that no nuclear weapons are deployed in countries now free of such weapons and reduce their number before they have been deployed.

It is also in the interest of Hungary and its people that the historically established military balance of powers should be maintained, and a mutually acceptable agreement be reached at the Soviet-American limitation talks, particularly at the Geneva talks on medium-range nuclear missiles.

The HSWP Central Committee is of the opinion that there is a change for agreement, for the prevention of the deployment of new American missiles in Europe even now. As is known, the Soviet Union has put forward important initiatives and these, along with the proposals accepted at the January Prague session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, and at the Moscow meeting of the party and state leaders of seven socialist countries in June, provide an appropriate basis for that. In an effort to reach a reasonable compromise, these proposals genuinely consider the rights and security interests of all parties concerned.

The socialist countries continue their constructive peace policy even in the more tense international situation that was manifest also at the Moscow meeting of the secretaries in charge of international and ideological issues of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries in September. The consultation also called for the joint action of different political and social forces for the strengthening of the peace and security of peoples.

In their international activity the HSWP, and the Hungarian Government are making resolute efforts to further strengthen the unity and cooperation of socialist countries as it is of increasing importance in the present world political situation.

The July visit to the Soviet Union of the Hungarian party and government delegation was a particularly important event of Hungarian-Soviet relations. The Central Committee highly appreciated the achievements made in the high-level talks of Janos Kadar and Yuriy Andropov held in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, and in the spirit of mutual understanding. The talks were marked by the full identity of views on the fundamental issues of socialist construction work, on the strengthening of bilateral relations, and the assessment of the international situation. The visit has given a further impetus to the deepening of our fraternal friendship and internationalist cooperation.

The Prague visit of Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, well served the strengthening of Hungarian-Czechoslovak friendship. His talks with Gustav Husak, Lubomir Strougal, and other Czechoslovak leaders contributed to the development of bilateral economic, cultural and touristic cooperation.

The participation of the Hungarian party and government delegation at the celebrations on the 30th anniversary of the onset of the Cuban revolution expressed our solidarity with socialist Cuba. On the 35th anniversary of the establishment of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Hungarian delegation expressed that we are supporting the struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful reunification of that country.

The meetings with the leading representatives of the CPSU, the PUWP and the LCY usefully contributed to the further deepening of internationalist relations and fraternal cooperation.

The HSWP CC has welcomed the successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting. The reconfirmation of the principles and recommendations set forth in the Helsinki Final Act proves that agreements that are acceptable for all parties can be reached in international talks on the basis of equality and the mutual consideration of interests. The Hungarian People's Republic strives for the implementation of all recommendations included in the Madrid closing document. It is a particularly important agreement that a conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament is to be convened in Stockholm in January 1984. It is an honour for Hungary to host the cultural forum in Budapest in October 1985.

The Hungarian People's Republic continues to develop its relations with countries with different social systems on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence.

The visit to Finland of Janos Kadar and his talks have further deepened the traditionally good relations of Hungary and Finland, and it has made the two countries' relations more comprehensive and has contributed to the cause of peace and cooperation in Europe.

In the service of peace and international cooperation, Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, took part in the New York meeting of heads of states and governments convened on the initiative of Indira Gandhi, the current president of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, and joined the work of the 38th session of the UN General Assembly.

The official visits of George Bush, vice-president of the United States, to Hungary, and of the foreign minister of Hungary to the United States were important events of our inter-state relations. In these meetings the parties appreciated the consolidated relations of their countries and supported the maintenance and development of reciprocally advantageous ties.

The Hungarian People's Republic is ready to cooperate, on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence, with all countries which respect its present reality, social system, sovereignty and acknowledge its alliance commitments. At the same time it refuses all attempts aimed at antagonizing Hungary and its allies.

The official visit to Hungary of French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy and his talks usefully contributed to a survey of bilateral inter-state relations, the exploration of the further possibilities of our economic, trade and cultural cooperation, and constructive exchange of views about the major issues of international life.

Since the latest session of the HSWP, a series of talks have taken place with representatives of several other countries. We have paid particular attention to our relations with the developing countries. We held important and useful talks with U San Yu, president of Burma, and Maurice Bishop, prime minister of Grenada.

The talks held with the leaders of the Austrian, Bolivian, Cyprian, Greek, Israeli, Italian, Portuguese, San Marinease, and Spanish Communist Parties contributed to internationalist solidarity and cooperation, the mutual and fuller understanding of one another's state and activity, and the further strengthening of our unity in the joint struggle.

In order to promote the common interests of the international working class, and the causes of detente and disarmament, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party strives for the expansion of relations with the socialist and social democratic parties. The talks with the high-ranking representatives of the Belgian Socialist Party Flemish wing, the Finnish Socialist Democratic Party and the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany served this goal.

Following the discussion of international issues, the statement on the HSWP CC session turned to the topic of trade unions, and stated that experiences had proved that the HSWP, considering the demands and possibilities of social progress, had rightly formulated its position and tasks concerning trade unions.

The statement stresses that the Hungarian trade unions adhere to the ideological and political guidelines of the party but work independently. They are committed to the workers' power, take part in the elaboration and implementation of the programme of socialist construction, contribute to the political and economic strengthening of the system, have wide powers in the representation of the interests of their members, carry out comprehensive educational work, and play a considerable part in the creation and strengthening of socialist national unity.

The Central Committee has reconfirmed the principles of the party's policy towards trade unions. At the same time it holds it necessary to further develop the work of communists in trade unions and the practice of trade unions. Our economic management system increases the independence and responsibility of local organs which provides wider possibilities also for the trade unions, and requires the further development of their work particularly in the factories and working places.

The state and the tasks require that trade unions' work promoting the efficiency of the economy should be better adapted to changing conditions. It is in the interest of the society and the collectives that the trade unions should strive to promote more efficient production by supporting the initiatives of workers, the trade unions should promote closer relations between the requirements of economy, and the objectives and undertakings of socialist drives and the brigade movement.

The trade unions should further strengthen their work aimed at the representation and protection of interests, and better consider the specific interests of different social strata, trades and professions. Within their jurisdiction they should provide a wider scope for the better articulation and coordination of interests.

Considering the possibilities of the country and the realistic demands of union members, they should elaborate their proposals for priorities in the living standards policy, and the formulation of social-welfare and wage policies. The trade unions should pay more attention to safeguarding the interests of youth, and that of pensioners and large families. Local features and possibilities should be carefully considered also in the formation of the living and working conditions of the collectives of factories.

Trade unions play an increasingly important part in the deepening of socialist democracy. They should develop democratic forums and improve their operation. They should better inform workers, and require and take their comments and proposals into consideration.

The performance of the tasks of trade unions should be increasingly based on the spontaneous voluntary work of the membership, and the relations of the elected bodies and the membership should become closer.

The participation of trade unions in the preparation of major decisions, and the elaboration of national and local plans is being ensured in Hungary. In the interest of the strengthening of the socialist system, state and economic organs are cooperating with trade unions on all levels.

The Central Council of Trade Unions and the Council of Ministers should continue the practice of regularly surveying and discussing the most important common topical tasks. It is desirable that the cooperation of the organs of industrial branches, regional organs, trade unions, ministries, national authorities and local councils should become closer and more systematic. It is not less important that the companies' economic management and local trade union organs should efficiently cooperate.

The party exercises its leading role in the society while acknowledging the independence of state and social organs. It is important to enforce the principle and practice that the party influences and directs the activity of trade unions by principal and political means, with the help of communist members of trade unions at all levels of party work. It means political orientation and requires consistent and quality persuasion. The party should provide for the political conditions of the independent activity of trade unions, and the trade unions should appropriately make use of their lawful rights. The Central Committee is to publish the full text of its position on the development of trade union work and the party's tasks.

The Central Committee has discussed and adopted the proposal for the abolishment of county boroughs and taken a stand for the further development of local party, state and social management. As social and economic development has made the functions of county boroughs as administrative units obsolete, the Central Committee has agreed to abolish them as from 1 January 1984.

Most of the powers of the county borough offices will be delegated to the village councils. The affairs of citizens should be settled at their domicile. As for state administration, the village councils, like cities, will directly belong to counties.

The import of local elected bodies should be increased, the standard of the work of party and administrative organs heightened, and the publicity and social supervision of state activity improved. The independence of city and village councils should be expanded also in the economic field. Their interest in and responsibility for the increasing and efficient use of means should be strengthened.

The cooperation of local councils, economic units and the population in the development of settlements which is based on common interests should be facilitated. The role of the population's forums in the discussion of local problems, the determination of solutions, and the supervision of implementation should increase.

Parallel with the further development of local state management and administration, the Central Committee has decided to dissolve county borough party committees. Their functions and powers are delegated to the party committees of cities and designated large villages.

The Central Committee recommends the mass organizations and movements to adapt their regional organs to the changes in administration and the organizational structure of the party.

The Central Committee considered the report on topical economic issues, and the major economic experiences of the past nine months. The CC surveyed measures aimed at the alleviation of drought damages, and relevant tasks.

The Central Committee has been informed on preparations for the 1984 national economic plan and budget, and the work aimed at the streamlining of the economic management system.

The Central Committee, highly appreciating the economic results achieved by considerable efforts and assessing shortcomings and difficulties in some areas, stressed that further efforts are required for the implementation of this year's plan.

PARTY OFFICIALS RECEIVE LEBANESE CP DELEGATION

LD150120 Budapest MTI in English 1725 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Budapest, October 14 (MTI) -- Nadim Abdel Samad, member of the Lebanese Communist Party Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, visited Hungary October 12-14 on the invitation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee.

Nadim Abdel Samad met Matyas Szuros, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, and held talks with Gabor Nagy, deputy head of the CC foreign affairs department.

The cordial comradely talks, marked by a spirit of mutual understanding, covered topical international issues, mainly the Middle East situation and the Lebanese crisis, and inter-party relations. The two sides expressed concern over the deterioration of the Middle East crisis and conditions in Lebanon, and condemned imperialist machinations in the region. They urged the recognition of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and stressed the need of strengthening Palestinian national unity.

The HSWP representatives reaffirmed their solidarity with Lebanese communists and other progressive forces in the struggle to eliminate the aftermath of Israeli aggression and achieve democratic change in the interests of the people.

MATERIALS ON PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Jaruzelski Chairs Opening

LD141133 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] A plenary session of the Central Committee of the PZPR opened in Warsaw at 1000 hours. The session, chaired by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, is devoted to the ideological tasks of the party in the consolidation of the decisive role of the working class in Poland's socialist development.

Opening the session, Wojciech Jaruzelski pointed out that the present plenum is of particularly great significance as it is the first plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee since the lifting of martial law. He recalled that many important activities had been undertaken within the party which helped to prepare as well as possible the present plenary session of the Central Committee, that the subject matter of the 12th Plenum of the Central Committee has been discussed in all party organizations, that the problems of the young generation have been taken up, an important element of which was the all-Polish conference of PZPR youth activists in Gdansk, that a scientific and ideological conference has been held in connection with the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx and the draft programmatic assumptions for marking the 40th anniversary of People's Poland have been completed.

The Central Committee has approved the agenda and Jozef Czyrek is now delivering a report.

Czyrek Presents Report

LD141918 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1705 GMT 14 Oct 83

["Extensive excerpts" from the PZPR Politburo report entitled: "The Party's Ideological Tasks in the Implementation of the Line of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress," delivered by Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the 13th PZPR Central Committee plenum in Warsaw -- recorded]

[Text] Comrades, at our Central Committee session today we will be dealing with key tasks of ideological work. This is of primary importance in our party's struggle for the implementation of the line and the program of the ninth extraordinary congress, for overcoming the causes and effects of the crisis, and for Poland's further socialist development.

We are about to usher in socialist Poland's fifth decade. Next year we will celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Polish Committee of National Liberation manifesto. The place these 40 years occupy in the history of our nation and state is of great importance. It is our party's undeniable accomplishment that the dramatically difficult and long struggle for Poland with social justice, for a Poland that is forever to form part of Europe, has been historically resolved.

It was the PZPR and the progressive and democratic forces that cooperated with it that were able to interpret properly the turn of events; that found and charted the only correct path leading to liberation and the rebirth of an independent Poland within just and secure borders, a Poland developing in a system that ensured revolutionary social transformations and the advance of civilization, a Poland playing a role to be reckoned with within the socialist community of peoples and in the system of peaceful order in Europe.

The implementation of the program of national and social liberation; the establishment of popular power of workers and peasants; the regaining of the western and northern territories; the restoration of the country following terrible devastation, industrialization, agrarian reform, and modernization of the countryside; the educational revolution and dissemination of culture; the advancement of millions of working people; and, above all, the creation of conditions for the construction of a society based on social justice -- all these are incontrovertible accomplishments, the source of which is the creative ideas and activities of the workers party. The Polish social revolution in the mid forties constituted a mature and epoch-making event: It grew out of Polish soil, out of the progressive trends in our history. It was not geopolitics, but a historical process, the most vital interests of the nation and the state and aspirations of the working people that combined to result in the victory of that revolution.

It is true that the course of socialist transformations in our country was not free from errors and setbacks. We are not passing them over in silence. The profundity of the self-critical appraisal of the sources and the causes of these errors and setbacks, made by our party especially during the sixth Central Committee plenum in 1980, during the ninth congress, and in the report of the Central Committee commission, and approved by the 12th plenum, is really unprecedented.

The errors that have been made were used by the opponent to carry out a frontal attack on the party and the system. All the achievements of the past 40 years were questioned. The indigenous genesis of the people's power was doubted, as were the correctness and significance of the revolutionary social reforms and of socialist construction. A sharp struggle flared, revolving around the key problems of Poland's contemporary history. The struggle became one for Poland's system -- the shape it would take -- for its alliances and place in the class-ridden world. The opponent devastated the consciousness of a sizable proportion of the population, especially where the young generation is concerned.

We face the task of spreading the truth about the sources and revolutionary transformations of the past 40 years and about the significance of that period for Poland's destiny. The anniversary celebrations, the outline of which the Politburo will present today to the Central Committee, are to serve this goal.

Comrades, the beginning of the eighties placed our party face to face with a great political test. Without a doubt history will justify the appraisal that the party has managed to cope with this challenge. The ninth extraordinary congress bears witness to this first and foremost. This congress became the source of the healing process which arises from the vital need for the identification of the party with the interests of the working people, from the awareness of responsibility for the security and international position of the socialist state. Party masses came to call this trend socialist renewal.

The workers' orientation, alive in the summer of 1980, one that is best reflected in the slogan: Socialism Yes, Deviations No, harmonized with these aspirations of the party. This opinion, bearing an essentially class character and summing up the chief sense of the workers' protest, became the subject of manipulation such as cannot readily be found in our history.

Aggressive and antisocialist trends surfaced. They bore different characters. They touched upon various ideological and political traditions, frequently far removed from each other. The common denominator was provided by hostility toward socialism. Upon the subsoil of excited social tensions, increased emotions and doubts, attempt was made to reactivate anachronistic myths; political concepts were compromised and cast aside by history.

There was no shortage of the Party's goodwill and patience in the desire to abate the confrontation turn of events. Nor was there a shortage of resolve in defense of the unshakeable historical accomplishments of fundamental significance for national existence, the existence of the state.

The 13 December 1981 decision prevented a disaster, a fratricidal conflict of incalculable consequences. We have a right to say that the positive results of that decision which, after all, was not an easy one to make and was one that made us face numerous problems, are coming out in ever bolder relief today after the lifting of martial law. Step by step, persistently and consistently, we are following the road for overcoming crisis, rebuilding the economy, and renewing sociopolitical life. Popularization of the conviction that by joining efforts of all patriotic forces we will be able to achieve our goals is an important ideological front task.

We have constantly been convinced that on the internal and the international plane the fronts of class warfare are closely linked. The class opponent constitutes a margin -- even if it has a minute social base it can cause a serious threat -- because his support is based on international forces of capital. In contemporary world conditions, in the period when strategic plans of imperialism have been included into calculations concerning smashing socialism from within, we cannot ignore or disregard this.

On the international global scale, imperialism caused the greatest accumulation of tensions and threats for decades. The forces of the anticommunist crusade -- with Reagan's administration at the fore -- negate the principles of peaceful coexistence between states of different systems, intensify the arms race, and impose an extremely dangerous direction for international situation developments.

Threats, created by the aggressive policy of imperialism, directly and particularly concern Poland and our people. This must be constantly pointed out as must the deep links between the safety of Poland and the cause of world peace, as well as patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

In order to make revolutionary changes and manage the construction of a new system, the working class must have a Leninist-type party as its vanguard. Without this it is impossible to build socialism.

In consultations held before the present Central Committee plenum the question of defining the present development stage in Poland caused much discussion. A simple formula cannot exhaust the assessment of the complicated reality of our country. One thing is certain: In Poland we have realized the majority of tasks of the transition period from capitalism to socialism. This indicates the existence of a permanent socialist structure in our economic and sociopolitical life.

In many domains social solutions and safeguards have been introduced. These could be included in the phase of highly developed socialism. On occasion these solutions have outpaced our present economic possibilities, but there are also areas of transformation that are delayed. These are remnants of antagonistic class controversies. Thus we are facing the phenomena of uneven socialist progress.

When attempting to determine the achieved stage of socialist transformation it is often forgotten that one of the most important criteria for the maturity of socialism is a high, social productivity and a rationally organized economy. If the debate on the present stage of socialist transformations is to be of genuine programmatic and practical political importance, it must fully take into consideration the necessity of raising productivity and efficiency of management.

Without this, even in conditions of a domination of a socialized economic system, it is not possible to construct a highly developed socialist society. Making this point indicates what has to be done above all to achieve real progress in building socialism that is tangible for the working man. Experience shows that the fundamental issue is to ensure cohesion between the activities of the party on the ideological, political, and economic planes.

The increasing discrepancy between ideological assumptions and practical solutions in the sphere of politics and the economy constitutes one of the causes of the crisis we are experiencing.

A significant characteristic of the policy which collapsed in August 1980 was disregard for the role of ideology, treating it as a kind of decoration for political and economic practice. Such a stance is alien to Marxism-Leninism, to the principles of a Leninist-type party. The time of tough trial has sharpened the picture. It has cleared the field of vision. Today we see better what was erroneous, illusory, and detrimental.

Today we can better see what was erroneous, illusory, harmful -- and what was correct, permanent, and most important. Today we have a fuller awareness of the fact that the construction of a socialist community is a historical process of enormous complexity requiring timely diagnosis and solution of contradictions, without allowing them to accumulate and become dangerous social conflicts.

Comrades, the supreme objective of the policy of the ninth congress is the consolidation of the leading role of the working class in all fields of social life. Socialism is transformed from idea to reality as a result of the struggle of the working class under the leadership of a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party. The essence of the struggle is the ever fuller implementation of workers' interests, values, and aspirations. They most fully express the striving of all groups of working people. It is precisely for this reason that the working class gains for itself the support of the broad masses of the peoples.

Our party expresses the workers' interests and guides their implementation. This is the fundamental contents of the party's social mandate. In the party an ever deeper knowledge both of the realities of life and the moods, views, and opinions which are formed against its background is needed. We are creating a system for public opinion research; we are improving the practice of consultation; we are endeavoring to expand direct meetings in the works enterprises. The resolution of the Central Committee on considering complaints and objections is being implemented. The doors of the party committees must be open. The activist must always have time for conversation with a worker who has some business with the party. However, obsolete habits, directives from the desk or office -- a reemergence of convenient [wygodnictwo] behavior, and even arrogance still make themselves felt. The party cannot and will not agree to them.

Our task consists of listening carefully to the workers' voices and to criticism in order to establish the hierarchy of tasks and the sequence of their implementation, to forge justified proposals into directives for action. A rich harvest of such proposals and postulates was brought forth, among others, by the Conference of Workers' Aktiv, and the September meeting of trade unionists in the Baildon steelworks.

Service to the working class, the nation, is a struggle against everything which pulls us back, which fills working people with indignation; against injustice, soulless bureaucracy, the violation of workers' dignity, waste of public property; against chaos and bad work organization; against high-handedness and corruption.

The party is gaining trust, stands at the head of this struggle, and exploits the justified dissatisfaction of working people as a constructive force in improving our reality. For the party among the workers, and the workers in the party, this is our essential objective: To be in the working class and with the working class, to care for its position, prestige, and dignity; to strive for an improvement in working and living conditions; for the possibilities of its promotion and development; to work with it and lead it -- these are the fundamental contents of the class policy of our party. We have honestly drawn conclusions from what has happened. The PZPR has a historical, political, and moral right to lead the nation. Historical, since it was under its guidance that the achievements of the past 40 years were created; political, since we worked out and are implementing a program for overcoming the crisis at the ninth congress, a program of socialist political and economic reforms; moral, since with full consistency and integrity we have carried out an assessment of our errors.

At the seventh plenum we said: The same party, but not the same. That was not a singular declaration. It is a postulate that is permanently in force, a postulate of the systematic and consistent improvement of our entire activity. The fundamental change lies in strengthening the link between the party and working people in the practices already initiated to this end to effectively gain their confidence and support. This injunction is essentially a simple one, but politically it is fundamental to the real fulfillment of the leading role of the party in the life of the working class and the whole nation. It is not enough to term oneself an avant-garde. One also has to work in such a way that all remaining detachments perceive and recognize that we are proceeding at the head, Valdimir Lenin taught. To be the avant-garde in the sense of ideological and political leadership, by force of example, words must be matched by deeds. This is a goal which calls for far better ideological equipment in the party.

For us the adversary is hostile or foreign tendencies and concepts, but at the same time, how damaging is ignorance, weak knowledge of the laws and mechanisms that govern our system, large-scale negligence in historical, political, economic, and legal education, both in the party and among the public. In accordance with the general regulations [prawidlowosc] of socialism, with the line of the ninth congress, we are aiming at a reconstruction of the mechanisms of state and economic life that will ensure increased participation by working people in government along with an increase in the work force's direct influence on the national economy.

From this point of view an immeasurably important task remains -- the development of the union movement. The decisions taken a year ago are proving themselves in practice. The new trade unions already number about 3.5 million members among their ranks. This is a momentous political and social fact. They are dominated by workers. The resurgent union movement, independent of the administration, is acquiring vigor both in the basic cells and in the structures above the work level that are shaping up, including the national federations.

Today the National Congress of the new Union of Polish Teachers begins. We wish its participants fruitful debate. Standing guard over the interests of employees, the union movement is an indispensable partner in the struggle to overcome the crisis, to repair the economy. Partnership is essentially bilateral. Thus the position of the unions signifies both criticism and support as well as concern for living conditions and for the quality of work. The partner does not just make demands but makes offers too; he does not just take, but shows concern that the resources to be divided increase. We believe the unions have a role in consolidating the joint responsibility of the work forces for the results of the management of an enterprise and a just division of the results of work. We follow in the wake of the 12th plenum by recalling that the duty of party members is to participate in union activity. This does not occur everywhere as yet.

It is our party's duty to strengthen trade unions and to enhance their prestige, especially in a situation when the path of improving the working people's living conditions is difficult and slow. An extensive, let us say noninvestment, share is therefore all the more important; this includes everyday justice, open decisionmaking, the elimination of evil and various everyday nuisances, the cleansing of social relations, and care that the working man is known, respected, and distinguished in the way he deserves.

In the process of rebuilding the social infrastructure in enterprises, employee self-management bodies are gradually increasing their activity. Along with this grows to build in work establishments a proper system of partnership and to correctly shape the relations between administration, trade unions, and self-management. It rests with party organizations and echelons to ensure that this system helps to integrate work forces and to consolidate socialist social relations, and that it serves the enterprises' good performance.

One has to oppose revival of anarchic-syndicalist trends, attempts to turn self-managements into a battlefield of political struggle. On the other hand one has to oppose attempts to ignore and underestimate self-management. It is the party's duty to ensure the real and constructive role of self government in work enterprises.

The changes that the reform has brought about in economic planning and management, in the functioning of enterprises, and in the implementation of principles of workers' self-management, immeasurably expand the joint responsibility of work forces for the performance and results achieved by their enterprises, but these changes carry perils that can be eliminated only by the party's organizational and ideological-upbringing work. State enterprises are the property of the whole nation, and their productive activity must serve the whole of society. The work force manages the property of the enterprise, its production possibilities, on behalf of the society. It has at its disposal part of the national property, not its own group property. The economic reform sets a definite framework for this responsibility and the method of its implementation. The principles of independence, self-management, and self-financing place the enterprises within the framework of hard and economically indispensable rigors of economic calculation. They demand that production be efficient and economic for the benefit of society and the whole economy, and that the work force be justly paid. Tendencies to exploit the authority given it or to be guided exclusively by the group interest of the work force are in total contradiction with the spirit of the reform. An example of this is the calculation of excessively high production prices, or the race, at any cost, for profit. Such attitudes and tendencies require active counteraction by party organization. At the current stage of the implementation of economic reform, a task of fundamental significance is the restructuring of the incentive systems, the close linkage of wages and all their components with work productivity. The planned changes in the [word indistinct] system are aimed at this.

A fundamental issue is the rigorous observance of the principle: From each according to his capabilities, to each according to his work. This is of key significance as a factor motivating people's attitudes, as is the link combining the strive toward economic rationalization with the ideological-social principles of socialism, with a sense of social justice. It is impossible to find solutions in nominal, artificial egalitarianism. It is necessary to oppose demagogic postulates concerning the levelling of wages; equally would not then mean justly. Between wages and work a close interdependence must exist which is understood by the employee. At the contemporary stage of the construction of socialism, equality means equality of all before the law in access to work and to basic social benefits, to education and culture, given at the same time remuneration appropriate to the quantity and social usefulness of the labor.

Deviation from the principle that one's material situation should depend on the contribution of his work directly or indirectly gives rise to a violation of the moral and legal order in a socialist society. Public opinion is justly sensitive to this issue. It, opposes all manifestations of shirking work, of the parasitic exploitation of another's work, of profiting from speculation, bribery, or tax fraud, as well as deriving illegal gains from the holding of official posts. Chaos, bad work organization, careless work, waste and extravagance are condemned, but frequently the evil is condemned in general, verbally, without the introduction of order in one's own backyard. This must be changed.

Much controversy and sharply critical assessments -- especially on the part of the workers -- are provoked by the activity of the private sector. Within the totality of our economic life it plays in essence a limited, auxiliary role. Social and economic needs justify the creation -- for private crafts, services, and small-scale manufacture as well -- of possibilities for the production of consumer goods and for the supplying of services of which there is a shortage. Those who in accordance with the law, paying in proportion to income the recently considerably increased taxes, contribute to an improvement of the market situation, should not be the subject of generalized critical opinions.

The social and economic needs also justify the creation of private crafts, the services industry, small-scale commerce, and opportunities for the production of marketable goods and for the provision of services in short supply. Those who, in conformity with the law, pay the recent considerably increased taxes in proportion to their income, thus contributing to the improvement of the market situation, should not be the object of vague critical opinions. On the other hand, firm counteraction is called for against speculation, amassing of fortunes as the result of fraud, as well as the achievement of glaringly high, unjustified income. This brings about negative moral effects. It leads to the formation and spread of systems of values contrary to socialism.

Nowadays, in light of the shortage of commodities, the greatest evil is the achievement, through speculation, of high revenue without production of labor. We must wage a determined struggle against this phenomenon. Such is the just demand of the people. Let us add that the state or cooperative signboard cannot provide a shield for abuses and speculation. This evil must be exterminated everywhere and in every form. This is a class obligation of the socialist state.

Comrades: More struggle, more accord. This is the way in which we formulated the binding political line of our party at the 12th plenum. We underscored the close connection between these two targets. The ideal of national accord contained in the program of the ninth congress is not a tactical measure or a concession enforced by the situation.

This is a strategic concept of a principled, class nature. Its axis is a strong, direct tie between the party and its working class; an alliance of workers, peasants, and the working intelligentsia. It is not an artificial or formal unity that we have in mind. Neither is it a glossing of class divisions, world outlook differences, or differences in views on many matters or on contradictions apparent in society. We take all this into consideration because such is reality, but it is here that exists the overwhelming need for accord and cooperation in matters of supreme importance for Poland. These are the ensuring of peace and security, the consolidation of our place in the socialist community, the strengthening of our alliance. This is the guaranteeing of law and internal order. This is the mobilization of energy in overcoming economic difficulties and surmounting the threat of the degradation of the country in the international competition of labor. This is the combining of forces in the renewal of all that demands changes and improvements in the light of experience. This is the basis for the platform of accord and national rebirth formulated at the First Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] Congress.

The expanding national rebirth movement already plays an important role in the molding of a common stance vis-a-vis many key issues. Expressing the opinion of a considerable part of the community it comes forward with initiatives addressed to the state authorities. In the interest of local communities it starts to enter the wide plane of the needs of the milieu. It reverts to the idea of civic deeds. The backbone of patriotic accord consists of the allied cooperation between the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD. Our multiparty political system and coalition method of discharging power are based on the common striving for socialist transformations, and on the recognition of the leading role of the PZPR, which expresses the objectives and interests of the working class, of all working people.

Important participants in state life are the association and the Polish Catholic Social Union, which accept the constitutional system precepts of the Polish People's Republic and which are among the signatories of the first PRON declaration. This movement is acquiring growing numbers of nonparty representatives of various milieus, people enjoying a high prestige.

Compared with 1981 and 1982, the situation in the milieus of the technological intelligentsia has gradually changed. This applies to the majority of schools, colleges, scientific and artistic centers, editorial offices, and publications.

More and more we have the intelligentsia on our side, people who are outstanding and whose authority is well deserved. These, by and large, are the results of long and complex choices. The intelligentsia found itself amidst conflicting torrents, subject to an intensified pressure of emotions, myths, and illusions, under particular pressure from national and foreign opponents of socialism. All the more reason for us to value these choices. Let us repeat this yet again: We do not ask anyone from whence he comes, as long as he comes with good intentions.

However, it remains a fact that certain scientists and artists have chosen the path of political struggle, of opposition activities under the patronage of and with support from the West. Polish intelligentsia's best tradition was thinking in terms of Poland and social progress. The truth is that over the past few years Poland has grown weaker. The world will not wait for us. Quite a few areas are under the threat of regression. This gives us a complete moral right to ask the question: Is it not time to put one's entire knowledge and energy into the cause of national rebirth and socialist renewal? A position other than that, irrespective of subjective emotions, cannot serve Poland.

We say openly that today there are no substantial resources to significantly improve the conditions in which the intelligentsia has to work and live. The maximum the country can really afford today is earmarked on these intentions.

The party stands out by its respect for the creative intellectual activity and for the progress of science and technology and education and culture that is needed by the nation. The framework of educational, scientific, and cultural policies is extensive. These policies aim not toward uniformity, but toward support for creative activities that open up new horizons, enriching the life of the socialist society.

This is what our party and forces cooperating with it propose, and we address this to the Polish intelligentsia. We are ready to discuss this, receptive to initiatives and to criticism that stems from constructive sources. We reject and we will combat what is backward, harmful, and antisocialist.

The party will invariably be guided by the constitutional principles of the division of church and state in all areas of social life, by the principles of freedom of conscience and religion. Concerned for the good of the state, for the internal order and stability that these principles serve, we will resolutely oppose any and all violations of these principles. We will not reconcile ourselves to the phenomenon of lack of tolerance, of militant clericalism, provocative actions that have nothing in common with religion.

Comrades, the cause of socialist reforms initiated by the ninth congress program pertains to a considerable extent to the functioning of the state and the legal system, to the development of indirect and direct forms of socialist democracy. We consistently proceed along this path; the long list of fundamental legal acts and the already not inconsiderable extent to which the new democratic practices have been implemented bear witness to this.

A new style of the government's work is beginning to take shape. The Sejm of the Republic is very active. During the past 2 years a great deal has been done to make the activities of state administration on all levels more efficient. However, a lot of work still awaits us in this sphere.

A sovereign socialist state is the most important common good. We know this from the difficult history of our nation. We defended it from anarchy and destruction. Today work is needed to make the state strong by the consciousness and activeness of the working people; strong by its accommodating attitude toward their requirements; strong by the efficient functioning of the administration and the executive apparatus; strong by the implementation of social, political, and economic tasks.

The strength of the state guarantees the development of socialist democracy and is a dam against bureaucratic tendencies, elitism, license and anarchy. The words democracy and human rights are constantly repeated in our country and in the world. Opponents of socialism usurp the sole right of their interpretation, but in the light of capitalist practice at home and in numerous regions of the world it is used as a cynical lie about the real state of affairs. Socialism does not proclaim abstract democracy and freedom because they are of class character, in a class framework, but in our case they are based on the sum of real civic rights, social, economic, and political, which we will consolidate and strengthen.

We believe that conditions are ripe for the preparation of a new election system for the elections to representative bodies. This would be one of the essential factors in the democratic transformations taking place in our country. We think that the PRON will play an essential role in these preparations. There is a need for much deeper research into assessing the Polish historical process. Many have again found themselves in the sphere of sharp struggle. Opponents would like to revise historical assessments in the spirit of rehabilitating regressive ideas and political trends. Not for political truth but for political reasons the idea is being cultivated about Poland's links with only one Western tradition. Poland's cultural and historical heritage, which for centuries built our national identity, was set and is being increased today through links with the great progressive current of world culture, in close coexistence with the culture of our immediate neighbors. This constitutes an important factor in bringing up new generations in the spirit of national dignity and internationalist respect for other nations and for friends.

Let us again stress the great importance we attach to the normalization of the situation in artistic circles. We are striving for individual circles and professional groups to be restored self-managing representations, operating in accordance with the interests of the socialist state and contributing to the development of national culture.

The consistent political struggle against the opponents of socialism must be accompanied by enduring endeavors to win over all those who became lost in the dramatic events of recent years and who can make a valuable contribution to the development of science and culture in our nation. With patient explanatory and organizational work, with the participation of the primary party organizations, we wish to build in these milieus fronts of accord on the foundation of acceptance of our state's goals and constitutional principles.

At the ninth plenum we stressed the particular responsibility of the state system of education and higher education for the rearing of younger generation. The mutual ties between the process of teaching and upbringing have not yet become universal practice in our school system. Within the entire school system, including higher education establishments, little attention is paid to inspiring young people with the ideals and moral values of the socialist community. Sometimes instead alien educational patterns are propagated. There exists a need to enrich the entire process of teaching with ideological and educational contents, above all (?in) the humanities and the teaching of the Polish language, literature, and history. The most important factor is the knowledge, ideological bearing, and personal example of the teacher and tutor. Particular care is required by the training and additional training of teachers with high professional and didactic abilities, with high moral, civic values.

It is the concern of the party to strengthen the dignity of the teacher and his social position.

The resolution of the ninth plenum will become fully implemented only when youth itself, its organizations, and the young members of the party, will not only be the resolution's exponents, but also executors. From the drive toward the new, from the younger generation's will to improve reality, nothing which is of value should be (?missed). The period of reform in social life, the period of struggle for fuller implementation of social justice, the restoration of full brightness to the ideals of socialism, creates for the young an authentic chance to write in its generation's biography the construction of a prosperous future for the homeland.

Comrades, the conclusions which we draw from the experience of the building of socialism in our country should find reflection in the new long-term program of the party. Work on it was instructed by the ninth congress. This work requires time, in-depth studies, analyses, and forecasts. The commission working on the program is committed to presenting the results of its considerations to the national conference of delegates. After this consultation the work will be continued until the 10th congress. The party already needs a document showing the prospects, our goals, intentions, and aims; therefore, we wish to propose the passing by next year's national conference of delegates of the ideological-programmatic declaration: What We Are Fighting For; Where We Are Heading.

The party is entering the period of the electoral and report campaign. The formation of the ideological, moral, and political attitudes of party members must become its main current.

We must again ask the question: What should be done to increase the activity of every party member, to realize the task put forward at the 12th Central Committee Plenum, for every party member to be outstanding in his milieu? Party meetings and conferences crown the difficult term of office of the party authorities. We address our thanks and words of esteem to thousands of secretaries of the basic and departmental party organizations, to the group party heads, and to the activists performing functions in the executives and in the local party echelons of the control commissions of the party and in the audit commissions.

During the tough political struggle they bore responsibility for the party, and fought for rebuilding its strength and for regaining of public confidence. We are convinced that they will continue their activity and serve the party using the experience they have gained during this difficult time.

The 35th anniversary of the unification of the Polish workers' movement is approaching: the 35th anniversary of the PZPR. We have come a long way. Along the way we have marked successes of lasting significance for the fate of Poland. We have also had our failures and difficult periods. But we were, are, and will remain faithful to our ideas: To serve the working class and the nation, socialist Poland. That is how we understand the leading role of our party. [applause]

Orzechowski Addresses Plenum.

LD142514 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Warsaw 14 Oct -- The historical path covered by People's Poland since its formation to the present and the ideological-programmatic assumptions for the 40th anniversary celebrations of the Polish People's Republic were presented by PUWP CC Secretary Marian Orzechowski in his address to the Central Committee plenum today.

He said that at the threshold of the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, the socialist state of the Polish nation, the jubilee is an event written in the annals of the historical revolutionary and socialist transformations.

The beginning of the road to new Poland was the formation of the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Division on the Soviet soil in 1943. From the battle of Lenino to Berlin, it marked the victorious path of struggle against the invader. The establishment of the National People's Council in Lublin and the proclamation of the famous July Manifesto by the Polish Committee for National Liberation (PKWN) was a breakthrough event. Poland embarked upon the road of socio-political transformations of a socialist character. The working class and the workers' party were the driving force of [words indistinct]

It can be (?said) from the 40-year perspective of revolutionary transformations in Poland that taking power in 1944 and initiating the cause of socialist revolution in Poland constituted the most commendable deed of our party. Under the political and ideological leadership of the working class party, the Polish nation made actions which changed its fate.

The PUWP CC secretary underscored that in spite of difficulties and limitations which appeared, we did build sound and lasting bases of socialism in the political, economic and social sphere and that socialist changes in Poland are irreversible. Socialism was, is and will remain the source of positive transformations in the nation's destinies, its material and spiritual being guarantees of its independent existence.

In conclusion the speaker presented PUWP CC members the following tasks to be popularized in the ideological, educational, political and propaganda work: teaching patriotism and love for one's homeland, and to take up struggle against anarchy and pursuit of one's personal interests at the expense of public ones, to consolidate the state and the government in the spirit of democratic principles and socialist justice, to propagate and consolidate the significance of proletarian internationalism and historic traditions of collaboration between democratic forces in Poland and Russia, the Polish working class movement and joint struggle of the Soviet and Polish armies.

A significant place will belong to presentation of issues of alliance, consolidation of friendship, economic cooperation and trade between Poland and the USSR and all the countries of the socialist community.

The speaker called on all the forces and circles of the Polish nation to honor in a dignified manner the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic with new achievements and consolidating the front of social and national accord.

Participants in the PUWP CC 13th plenary meeting received an objective and synthetic [as received] document which sums up the achievements of the forty years of people's Poland and ideological and programmatic assumptions.

Report on 15 Oct Debates

LD151419 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 15 Oct 83

[Text] The 2d day of the debates of the 13th PZPR Central Committee plenum began at 0900 today. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, is chairing the debates.

Wlodzimierz Mokrzyyszczak, secretary of the Central Committee, was first to take the floor today. He discussed the sociopolitical objectives of the PZPR's report-back and election campaign. One of the draft documents that the Central Committee plenum is examining concerns provisional regulations on the election of delegates, authorities, and inspection organs at basic, factory, parish, municipal and district and voivodship organizations of the PZPR. Sepaking of the assumptions of the campaign, Wlodzimierz Modrzyszczak proposed that the campaign open immediately after the 13th plenum. The 2 1/2 year term of office of the authorities of party organizations up to and including the voivodship level is coming to an end. The report-back and election campaign will be conducted in accordance with the statute at the end of 1983 and beginning of 1984. The goal is to make a proper assessment of the implementation of the resolutions and to define the tasks facing party organizations. The authority of the entire party will depend on the way in which each organization accounts for its activities. The course the campaign will take ought to contribute to the improvement of the work of all party organizations and committees and further improvement of the style and methods of their activity. However, the perfecting of intra-party life is not an aim in itself. It should serve to enhance the ability of each organization to settle effectively the daily problems of its milieu.

I would like to point out to you an important and, in my view, new element of the assumptions of the campaign, that is, that it is not just the work of organizations and their intentions that will be appraised but also the activity of party members, especially the leading personnel, who are responsible for the various sectors of socioeconomic life; how they carry out the party mandate in the posts and functions with which they have been entrusted, entrusted, after all, at party recommendation.

Following Wlodzimierz Mokrzyyszczak's speech a discussion began. Julian Kraus, first secretary of the factory party committee at the Bielsko Biala small-capacity car plant, spoke of what upsets working people. [word indistinct] regulations, paradoxical prohibitions do not make life easier. Ideological issues must not be considered separately from material, living problems with which the worker has to grapple everyday at a work enterprise or at home.

Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Main board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, described the state of ideological awareness of the young generation. A slow evolution is taking place in this milieu. It was difficult to communicate with young people at one time. Now fewer and fewer young people succumb to opposition slogans.

Civic education ought to be predominant in the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the PPR next year. He proposed that a program for ideological training be adopted. It is necessary to begin from the foundations, from fundamental concepts. Sometimes such fundamental concepts as the party, class, state are not known to everyone. We must use specific terminology in our work.

Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Central Committee Central Auditing Commission, said that this plenum has been awaited by the community and party members especially. The political opposition has caused great devastation in the state of our ideological awareness. This is why the party ought to intensify its efforts to reach all the working class with Marxist-Leninist ideology. We ought to improve further the means and style of party work. The party must ensure an outright exemplary conscientiousness in its work, particularly after the 13th plenum.

Tadeusz Pisarski, a professor at Poznan Medical Academy, said in turn that the 13th plenum ought to review the strength and tasks of the party. Meetings between leading party and state activists and workers' activists have a positive influence on the shaping of civic awareness. As an example of this he mentioned the meetings of Wojciech Jaruzelski at the Baildon steelworks and of Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski at the Lenin shipyard. We forget in our activity that certain ideological truths are not handed down to new generations. These generations must simply learn those truths. The contents of the Politburo report will constitute an incentive to more coordinated actions in this sphere.

Andrzej Styczynski, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the factory committee at the Lubusz Elterma enterprise in Swiebodzin, was next to take the floor. He discussed the party's tasks in the struggle against the ideological and political opposition for which all evil, social pathology, manifestations of bad work and poor management become a natural ally, as it were. The party's militancy is needed on all these fronts since, apart from the fundamental ideological disputes, the elimination of the manifestations of evil is to take the wind out of the opposition's sails and to ensure that the party ranks comprise people with an unambiguous ideological outlook who were fully involved and militant in their actions. We have an influence on the way the entire community views the party.

Jozef Woloch, candidate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the party committee at Wroclaw Technical University, pointed out the role of propaganda and the mass media. If we assume that ideological influence ought to support economic processes leading to the overcoming of the crisis, a greater responsibility on the part of journalists is necessary, among other things. Ideologically ambiguous ideas are frequently popularized in polemical fervor, ideas which might delay the processes of the shaping social awareness and thus make the overcoming of the crisis difficult and distort our future goals.

Last to take the floor before the break was Zdzislaw Stepien from Gdynia, member of the Central Auditing Commission.

Nine participants in the 13th plenum have taken the floor to date.

I shall also add that in the course of the discussion today Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, read a letter sent to the 13th plenum by the participants in the 33rd Congress of Polish Teachers expressing best wishes for fruitful debates.

Jaruzelski Closes Session

LD152348 Warsaw PAP in English 2228 GMT 15 Oct 83

[Text] Warsaw 15 Oct -- The two-day debates of the 13th PUWP CC plenary meeting devoted to the party's ideological tasks in the strengthening of the decisive role of the working class in the socialist development of Poland ended here today.

The discussion on the report of the PUWP CC Political Bureau titled "Party's Ideological Tasks in the Materialization of the Line Laid Down by the 9th PUWP Extraordinary Congress" that was delivered yesterday, was continued today since the morning. Discussed were also ideological and programmatic assumptions for the Polish People's Republic and the assumptions of the PUWP's personnel policy.

The first to take floor was alternate member of the Political Bureau, PUWP CC Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak who reviewed the tasks and assumptions of the forthcoming PUWP report-election campaign.

Next, the PUWP Central Committee adopted its resolutions. Their drafts were presented by head of the Committee for Resolutions and Motives, Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Czyrek.

The 13th plenary meeting unanimously adopted the following resolutions [passage indistinct] in basic, factory, borough, city, district, and voivodship PUWP organizations in the 1983-84 season".

-- "Resolution on the personnel policy",

-- "An appeal of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party which points out to Polish society the development of the international situation posing a threat to world peace".

At the end of debates the floor was taken by PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski who underscored that the Central Committee and the Party emerge from its 13th plenary meeting richer with many valuable opinions and conclusions which constitute a political campaign with which the party will enter the coming report and election campaign.

While characterizing the main line of the debates, Wojciech Jaruzelski stated that what is needed is more ideological and theoretical consciousness, everyday activity which transforms ideology into facts, into social reality and, at the same time, more actions which confirm the stability and irreversible character of the 9th congress' line which adds worker, social confidence to the party.

In a reference to the idea and practice of national accord the PUWP CC first secretary stressed that it is a condition for success of the 9th congress' line, that it is based on class alliances and not on an agreement between one another. "The basis of accord is, among other things, the strife for consolidation of a socialist state," Wojciech Jaruzelski said.

In conclusion the PUWP CC first secretary stated that the 13th plenum makes the party and, through this, socialism in Poland stronger. The unity of aims, faithfulness to the line of the 9th congress was clearly confirmed by the plenum. It is a Leninist requirement and an obvious imperative of the moment. Provided valuable material for the report and election campaign [passage indistinct]

Report on Jurzelski Speech

LD162357 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 16 Oct 83

["Main points" of speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski at the conclusion of the 13th plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in Warsaw on 15 October; read by announcer]

[Text] Our party needs more class, ideological and theoretical awareness, reality [rzeczywistosc spoleczna], more deeds confirming the stability and non-reversibility of the line of the ninth congress, so as to gain for us the confidence of the working class and society. Consistence in implementing the socialist renewal resulted in commonly observed progress in normalization. We should not, however, put the achievements only on our account. Apart from those who from the very beginning were in the front line, those who made their choices gradually also contributed to the progress. These citizens, who in spite of their insults and doubts at critical moments spoke out in favor and continue to speak out today in favor of order, social calm, and work also have a considerable share in national salvation.

We have already created the essential preconditions through the essential construction of what is commonly called socialist renewal.

In everyday work and conversations with the working class and the community, the fate of the ninth congress is being decided. The more concrete and solid confirmation there is that we are not stopping in eradicating mistakes, that the reform is really being implemented, the more the enemy's field of influence will shrink and the social confidence there will be in our ideology and policies.

At the present stage it is not enough to announce that there will be no return to the pre-13 December 1981 anarchy, that there will be no return to the deformations that occurred before August 1980. These words should be entered into every party membership card. We did manage to weaken the enemy in a fundamental manner, to push him into the defensive. But we still need to be resolute and consistent, as the various intermediate methods and attempts emerge to achieve the same goal in slightly different manners, at different paces, through different means. Keeping the state in uncertainty, boycotts, whispered rumors, anniversary rowdiness [rocznicowe awantury] and social demagoguery -- these are some of the forms taken by the struggle of the enemy of the pre-December ilk.

Nothing will succeed in pushing us away from the chosen path. Today it is already a path that has been tested and confirmed. It constitutes the principal and at the same time the creative continuation of that which has been best and most prolific during the 40 years of People's Poland as a whole. We are dealing here with a sore social issue. In the political sense we are still in a state of emergency of a sort. Each mistake is paid for at double price and every right step is only half visible now.

Our activities after the ninth congress and after 13 December cannot be exempted from a thorough assessment. Every day we have to show in what way we are overcoming the crisis, in which way we are healing and reforming individual spheres of life. We have done a lot but we have not done everything that ought to be done. This is also true for the leadership of the party. It is far from feeling complacent. We have not succeeded in progressing satisfactorily in problems as significant as the comprehensively understood problems of the young -- their upbringing. We are not able to devote enough attention to the long-term tasks. Seeing through resolutions and decisions to the end is not our strong card. There should be even more meetings of the leadership of the party and state with work forces of industrial enterprises, with the party and social aktiv.

Being determines consciousness but on the other hand without a suitable consciousness, it is difficult to determine being. We can see, not infrequently, that people or even whole parties who owe everything to socialism, including high material standards [break in transmission] popularity, chances in life made the most out of, literally breathe hatred against the people's authorities. On the other hand, how many honest, working, devoted people, who are struggling along with great difficulties, high prices, lack of accommodation, with the arrogance of corrupted cliques, do not lose confidence in socialism or the conviction that the people's authorities are their authorities! We shall have grounds to be pleased with the ideological condition of the party if, as in the first years of People's Poland, members of the PZPR speak in simple, uncomplicated words to the working people like themselves about what to live for, what to believe in, what to strive for, what to fight for. There are many comrades like that and their number is growing. However, there are also those who suffer in silence when the party is abused in their presence, when it is shown disrespect, but they are afraid to rise to speak. There are also cabinet revolutionaries who voice their principles in their own milieu but will not speak in public, will not write anything, hiding behind generalities which do not pose any dangers.

The fate of the nation is progressing following the riverbeds created by history. It is the task of the living generations to shape the part of the history for which we are responsible in accordance with the requirements of the times, with the logic of social progress.

The exhumation of the idea of the front-line mentality [pol przedmurze], the revival of the catastrophic concepts of searching for enemies nearby and friends from afar, all this is an abuse of patriotism and requires decisive counteraction of our own, most profound Polish interest.

The opponents are trying to resurrect the most reactionary trends of the past, at the same time with the appeal that Poland -- as the first and certainly the only country in the world -- should take the risk of testing economic and social organizations that have yet to pass the test anywhere at any time. In today's world there is no fashion, idea, intellectual anachronism they would not exploit in the struggle against the party and the socialist state.

The party does not have to be ingratiating. Its obligation is to speak the truth. Its duty is to make the working class, the entire nation aware of what is possible, but also of what is necessary. The party is neither a missionary nor an administrator. In order to serve the workers' interests well, many times we have had to make -- and probably will have to again -- difficult, unpopular decisions. The party must not deceive people with simple declarations and empty promises, submitting to demands that cannot be implemented.

There are still people who have understood little and have learned nothing. Again they know everything better; again they stick out their chests. For them man, men, exist mainly to be ordered about in dogmatic fashion, without too much worry about what they think, what they feel, what dilemmas perturb them, and what cares depress them. There are people who are again assuming a high-handed [pol dygnitarski] style of life and work. They have switched to a bureaucratic, convenient procedure, and exaggerated rigid observance of office hours norms.

Our party is acting in conditions of acute class struggle. Sooner or later the overt or sometimes disguised class enemy will get to the opportunist and the defeatist, the ideologically amorphous activist, who has doubted the firmness of our idea and policy, who is not fighting for it. Nor will any benefit be gained from the murmurings of various reviewers of the party line, the self-appointed guardians of the holy fire.

Acting according to principle [pol pryncypialnosc] does not consist of a barrage of sharp words, but in the ability to convince people, to initiate the process of transformations which really move forward the cause of socialism. To be a communist means above all to be a bold and open man. This means to be with people; to struggle day by day with the world as it is; to teach others and to learn from others; to listen to the workers; and to explain to the workers what is most important for Poland and our ideas today. The communist ought to respect human individuality, the variety of tastes, the right to privacy. On fundamental issues he must be a real man of iron, not one of celluloid.

There are Poles with whom we do not intend to reach an agreement. There will be no pacts with the enemy, with the favorites of imperialist subversion. But to those who -- sometimes in good faith, excitement, or bitterness -- have gone politically astray, we stretch out our hand; we create a chance for them to emerge, with honor, from the back alley that leads nowhere.

The duty of patience and tact concerns most of all contacts with young people. One must fight stubbornly and persistently for the young people. There is no more important matter than winning them to the cause of socialism. Let us inspire the young to combat evil in all its forms. Let us take care that the young can pass the test of difficult tasks, that their chance to increase their qualifications and to gain well deserved promotion and appreciation materializes.

Consistent healing, correcting, and intensification of the socialized sector of the economy, which is dominant in Poland, are the key conditions for improving the situation, including the moral situation, throughout the whole of socioeconomic life. The reform is a great (?test) undertaken at the initiative of the party and closely linked with its name. This makes us responsible for it. The level of productivity will be the decisive factor in proving the superiority of the political system. Things are not too good in this respect. This is not the fault of socialism. Right now we must concentrate attention on overcoming this contradiction in many sectors between the significant, modern production potential and poor work organization, low quality and productivity, and inefficient management.

The party has gone through and withstood a difficult test. It has defended its main positions, confirmed its right to lead the state and the nation. This exam was passed by each individual party member. All those who, not just in the past and at the most difficult moment, but also today, can fight against ordinary human fatigue, weakness -- from which nobody is free -- against often horrible slander or gossip, constitute the priceless capital of the party.

In the bright light one can see the contrast between the continuing negative phenomena and the resoluteness and attitudes of self-sacrifice that are prevailing in the party. Such attitudes should be neither complacency nor self-flagellation, neither pride nor humility.

Our plenum will no doubt be greeted by more manifestations of the hostility of the enemy, particularly from the subversive propaganda. This is understandable. The 13th plenum makes our party -- that means socialism in Poland -- stronger.

PAP Report on Discussions

LD152222 Warsaw PAP in English 2202 GMT 15 Oct 83

[Text] Warsaw 15 Oct -- Animated plenary discussion continued for two days on three reports delivered at the 13th PUWP CC plenum which dealt with: directions and current problems of the party's ideological work, the PUWP's personnel policy and assumptions of celebrations to mark the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Polish People's Republic.

A wide variety of opinions, views, assessments and conclusions were presented on those key issues which are of great significance for the party's and nation's life.

Participants in the discussion stated that Poland is facing a concentrated attack by external and internal forces hostile to socialism which aim against the principles of Marxist ideology and the PUWP's activity. Since 1980 the party and state have been exposed to the first strike of this unprecedented ideological and propaganda aggression.

Speakers pointed to the need to work out such tactics of struggle on the ideological and propaganda front which would make it possible to effectively oppose the enemy's actions. Each party member should actively participate in this struggle because socialist Poland is and will ultimately remain socialist.

Party's ideological influence should aim at winning and regaining for the idea of socialist renewal ever more people. Internationalist values are threatened by political adversaries who are even ready to take the risk of the third world war.

The participants in the discussion underscored that more activity is expected on the part of the party intelligentsia, and especially party activists and university teachers.

Speakers stressed that of crucial significance for the pace of Poland's getting out of the crisis is to overcome some shortcomings within the party itself as well as the party's activity and effectiveness of its ideology and organization. It is known that confrontation with counter-revolution will take place not only in the economic plane but mostly in the sphere of struggle for the social consciousness in the ideological plane.

Many members of the Central Committee spoke on issues of [words indistinct] for a more effective ideological, patriotic and internationalist education as well as that connected with people's outlook on life. It is necessary to take up firm actions in this field to create a homogeneous front of educational influence on young people who should continue the process of socialist building. The struggle for Poles' consciousness is of crucial importance for socialism in Poland.

It is necessary to work out methods of up-building and creating a system of values such as respect for work, professional dignity, honour, social discipline, honesty, personal and political culture and an extremely important greater sense of personal responsibility for destinies of the state, for Poland's destinies.

The participants in the discussion stressed that the party's main strategic aim is to oppose counter-revolution and those forces which either openly or secretly act against the party and the socialist state.

A significant issue is the party's attitude towards religion and the church. It is necessary to observe Marxist and Leninist principles, defend the principle of a lay nature of the state and its institutions. In relations with the church it is necessary to preserve peaceful coexistence and agreement, while taking up sharp and firm struggle in the field of ideology. Speakers stressed that the struggle is waged not for making social life atheistic but for deepening secularization.

The participants in the plenary discussion also touched on the role of the Polish intelligentsia in overcoming the crisis, underscoring that this intelligentsia is greatly responsible for crises which occur in the social and political life.

Much attention in the plenary discussion at the 13th PUWP CC plenum was paid to the problems of the party's personnel policy. Managerial posts in institutions concerned with ideological activity, culture, social and political sciences and higher education should be entrusted to party members who comply with high party, social, and political requirements, it was said.

The problems of betterment of the party's personnel policy concerns not only the ideological front and culture but other domains of life as well. The 9th PUWP Congress laid down a blueprint for action not only for party members but also for all those to whom socialism and the nation's peaceful future are dear, it was said.

Participants in the discussion said the confirmation of the fact that the strength of the Marxist-Leninist party is fundamentally dependent on effective ideological struggle and activity in materializing the resolutions passed at the 9th PUWP Congress is a lasting attainment of the 12th and 13th plenary meetings of the PUWP Central Committee.

Speakers pointed to the need for improved intensive party training to cover not only party members and the managerial active but factory crews, including [word indistinct] people.

Speakers postulated that representatives of senior party authorities and full-time party employees actively participate in meetings with PUWP factory organizations. They also postulated that the Central Committee and other party authorities be bringing people responsible for ideological activity to account.

Participants in the debate moreover submitted a whole range of other postulates connected with further lines of activity for party organizations, authorities and in the Central Committee. They found their reflection in documents adopted on the first day of the debate, namely a resolution which spells out the party's ideological tasks in materializing the line of the 9th PUWP Congress, a resolution on the personnel policy, a resolution on launching directly after the plenum a report-and-election campaign at all party levels. The meeting also adopted a resolution relation to the celebrations of the four decades of People's Poland, due next year.

The PUWP Central Committee moreover formulated an appeal to Polish people to direct their attention to the international developments threatening world peace.

Czyrek Comments on Resolutions

LD152044 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 15 Oct 83

[Text] We have asked Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, who chaired the Commission for Resolutions and Proposals, to give us an interview on the resolutions adopted by the 13th plenum.

[Begin video recording] [Czyrek] The first and most important resolution of the plenum deals with the tasks of the party in the implementation of the resolutions of the ninth congress, as seen from the viewpoint of ideological values and principles by which our party is guided. We have tried to forge these ideological principles into tasks in various areas of our life; in the sphere of consciousness, the shaping of this consciousness, on political and economic levels, in the area of the functioning of the state, of the sciences, education and schools; moreover, it is a very taxing resolution, a very taxing one.

[Unidentified correspondent] That is to say, it is a very concrete resolution, one in which concrete tasks are reflected.

[Czyrek] Yes, very concrete ones. Members of the plenum, during discussion time, and the commission I had the honor of chairing advocated this very much indeed.

[Correspondent] Comrade Secretary, the second resolution, a very essential and important one, it seems, resolves round the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland.

[Czyrek] Indeed, all the more so since over the recent period a veritable battle flared up around the position that this period occupies in the history of our country and of our nation. That is why this resolution constitutes, as it were, a call to reevaluate the position of the past 40 years in the history of our country until now, in what has been accomplished after it has been accomplished; but, at the same time, it attempts, as it were, to create a basis for thinking about the future.

[Correspondent] I believe that the subject of cadre policy was a very controversial topic in the discussion which was very stormy, and the topic was discussed in a very heated manner.

[Czyrek] Cadre policy is a very important instrument in the policy of the state and the party as a whole and, at the same time, it is controlled, so to speak, by the broad public opinion. Nothing, it seems, is more frustrating in the perception of public opinion than wrong decisions regarding cadres. It is in this light that many issues are frequently assessed. This is one side of the story. The other is that an appropriate cadres policy, that is, appropriate cadres, the right man in the right place, determine the success of our reforms, of our activities as a whole, of our development. Everything depends on people.

[Correspondent] Of course.

[Czyrek] And that is why this resolution sorts out the principles of this cadres policy, so to speak. It makes this cadre policy an open one in the sense that it favors wise and courageous people, honest people who are suitably qualified professionally and who, at the same time, adopt responsible civic stances. The policy draws attention to the need to increase the participation of the young generation.

[Correspondent] Yes, this has been discussed. Comrade Secretary, the resolution concerning party problems, concerning the party report back and election campaign in the party.

[Czyrek] The resolution creates a framework for the campaign, and also defines its provisions. It deals with what has to be to the object of particular attention during the campaign, with its objectives and tasks, with how the party should become stronger during the campaign and better implement its objectives, which are, first of all, strengthening links with the working class and community. The struggle for the interests of the working man is the supreme task in the activities of the party and the sociopolitical organizations, and also of the state and economic apparatus. Man is in the first place.

[Correspondent] And at the end, an appeal was adopted by the plenum.

[Czyrek] The appeal is, on the one hand, an expression of concern with the shaping of the international situation which is unfavorable, one may say even dangerous, and defines the party's stand on the development of the situation. It draws attention to the fact that our national interests, our development, and also the struggle which we are conducting are closely linked with the international situation, and draws attention to the need to take all steps and make the necessary effort to ensure a secure existence for our nation, for Europe, and for the world. I think that in the case of our party, which expresses the views of the broadest milieus of the Polish nation, it has, on the one hand, obvious, natural causes and, at the same time, it is also our great, and important, national obligation. [as heard]

It was a very sincere plenum, in a spirit of full responsibility, where all our affairs were discussed. The most difficult matters were discussed critically but at the same time constructively, which means that the criticism aimed at improving the situation. In all, I think that the plenum will be an important step in consolidating the political and ideological unity of our party, in presenting its actions to the working class and to the working people, and will contribute toward what is at the moment most important, the consolidation of the bonds between the party, the working class, and the community. [end recording]

Majka Remarks on Plenum

LD161518 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 16 Oct 83

[Report by Olga Andrzejewska and Stanislaw Filipczak]

[Text] Warsaw 15 Oct. -- "The 13th PUWP CC plenary meeting provided us now with another deep breath for the socialist renewal", these words from Wojciech Jaruzelski's closing address at the 13th PUWP CC plenum quoted by head of the Information Department of the PUWP CC Jerzy Majka ended a press conference on the course and results of the plenary session held here today for foreign newsmen. While discussing the resolutions adopted at the plenum that also reflect the contents of both the report and the discussion, Jerzy Majka referred to General Wojciech Jaruzelski's address in which the general defined the direction to be followed by the party in three slogans:

- more class, worker, Marxist and Leninist consciousness in the party that will allow for better discerning of its prospects and goals,
- more activeness for the aims to materialize,
- more fait accompli that would attract ever new circles for the party's policy.

The best evidence of the party's ideological unity is the fact that all the resolutions were adopted unanimously, stressed Jerzy Majka. The course of the 13th PUWP CC plenum indicated that we are aware that "we are acting under conditions of the dangerously deteriorating international situation and that propaganda and ideological aggression launched against Poland by the United States and other NATO countries is one of the factors responsible for the deterioration," Majka said. "Attempts are being made to use the weakening antisocialist opposition, which can no longer play any major role now, to destabilize the situation in Poland.

"We stressed at the same time that in view of the global and comprehensive anti-communist crusade launched against the entire socialist commonwealth, we are going to strengthen in all planes our ties, cooperation, alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. We perceive the unity of our community as a warrant of security and a prospect for assistance in speeding up of our development," Majka declared.

He went on to say that the PUWP Central Committee recommended working out of a system of workers involved in governing the state and exerting control.

The PUWP attaches great importance to the domination of Marxist-Leninist ideology in the country's intellectual life, Majka said, and added that a national conference on arts and social sciences is going to be organized to discuss tasks ensuing from the 13th plenum.

While characterizing the main line of the personnel policy discussed at the 13th plenum, Majka said participants in the plenum were unanimous on that the policy in question should be overt, just, and in tune with social feelings and needs and that it should serve the interests of workers and other working classes.

In reply to a question on the number of workers in the PUWP, Jerzy Majka told newsmen that they account for 40 percent of total membership and this percentage is much higher in party authorities at different levels.

Answering another question, Jan Bisztyga [not further identified] stated that the PUWP policy towards the Church is stable. "We have not intention to limit the possibilities to profess and practice religion by any means. The party will struggle for observing this principle, and equally consistently it will strive for observance of law and order on the part of priests according to an entry on the state and the Church in the Polish Constitution," Bisztyga stressed.

Jerzy Majka told the conference that the Central Committee recommended to prepare a new electoral law.

Answering the question whether the plenary meeting discussed the fact of awarding Lech Walesa this year's Nobel Peace Prize, Jan Bisztyga said that the issue had not been considered. It was only stated that there are still many universities in the world that could confer honoris causa titles on Lech Walesa. The whole thing could end up in awarding him an Academy Award for his perfect acting tuned to a still better directing.

Barcikowski Interviewed

LD161339 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 16 Oct 83

[Jerzy Malczynski interview with Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; date and place not specified -- recorded]

[Text] [Malczynski] I would like to begin our conversation by asking you to give your general reflections on the party Central Committee plenum.

[Barcikowski] It seems to me that depending on the ideological layer discussed at the plenum, the decisions related to the principles of personnel policy and elections in the party will be those that will, in practice, weigh directly on the activities of party organization in the nearest future.

For the party itself, of utmost importance will be the elections in the party -- the first elections after the ninth congress. And we all bear in mind how stormy the period of preparations for the congress was, how stormy the progress of elections was at that time. Thus these will be elections after experiences gained in party work during that difficult period. But they will provide an assessment of that period concerning party achievements and those of the leaderships of party organizations at various levels.

I should like to say that in the course of those 3 very difficult years, demanding a great deal of political toughness and character, a whole new generation of activists has emerged in the party. Men who have been acquiring party experience during that period, as well as fortitude. They have been learning responsibility, an ability to fight. Today they represent an important party fund and I think that their taking part in party meetings and conferences has gained for them, when facing their organizations, their approval and recognition for what they have done so far, as well as the opportunity to act in the future for the party and for the benefit for the whole community.

[Question] I do not know your opinion of this, but my attention was drawn by one interesting element in the document relating to the report-back and election campaign, an element which in my opinion is a very new one. It says that assessments ought not just to be carried out with regard to persons active in party echelons and functions, but also with regard to people who perform various leading functions, functions in the administration, at the recommendation of the party.

[Answer] Here one sees a characteristic feature of the session. Namely, moral issues were underline very strongly within the totality of ideological problems, including the issue of the bearing of party members, above all the bearing of comrades who perform functions for which they have a public mandate or have been nominated -- state, economic, or administrative functions. There is a great deal of expectation here. The plenum agreed that people who have been accorded prominence in some sense in their community, in their organizational units, must give an example in their behavior, their own relation to work, their capacity for organizing work, in such a way that people see the effectiveness of their work in these centers, and, what is more, to erase problems caused by negligence to people today by taking one's duties lightly. Obviously, by putting the matter in these terms the party and the party organizations are also entering into an undertaking, and those people who do not meet these high demands will be the object of personnel conclusions and will bear personal responsibility. There will also be the possibility of removing them from their posts, of bringing in new people who offer hopeful prospects of their being able to meet these higher demands. That was one of the characteristic features of the session, but it probably also expressed broader expectations, which are not just present in the hall in which the Central Committee held its debate, but in our country, where people are considering what has to be done so that life is made easier.

[Question] Just one more question. Can we say that after the last 3 years the party has acquired a new cadre which will enable it to lead better, if you allow me to use such a slogan?

[Answer] That period was a very severe test for party activists.

[Question] Especially for the old ones, or for the new ones?

[Answer] For all. Of course, some have passed this test with better results than others. But needless to say those who have passed it represent a value, a value for the party and value, as I have said, for their local communities. That is why I think the knowledge they have acquired -- the capacity to act in complicated situations -- is their personal achievement as well as that of their party organizations, and that ought also to be utilized in the future. It ought to serve these party organizations (?in the future). That is surely the heart of the matter. Obviously, every day brings new tasks, and no examination in social and political activity can be said to have been passed once and for all, for they will have to pass exams tomorrow and the day after too -- always under the eye of their party organizations, which will assess them.

[Malczynski] I would think it would be society, as well as the party organizations....

[Barcikowski] Society, too. Obviously the whole party is subject to the judgement of the nation.

[Malczynski] Thank you very much.

Party 'Enriched' Theoretically

LD161511 Warsaw PAP in English 1414 GMT 16 Oct 83

[By PAP editor]

[Text] Warsaw 15 Oct -- The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party held debates here for two days, on November 14 and 15 [date as received], and the very essence of this significant debate is summed up in the most concise way by the title of the PUWP CC Political Bureau's report: Ideological Tasks of the Party in Implementing the Line of the 9th Extraordinary Congress. This title, like the two-day debate, stresses two elements: On the one hand, faithfulness to and irreversible character of the line laid down by the 9th party congress, and on the other, ideological tasks ahead of the party, its organizations and members.

Debates of the 13th PUWP CC plenum, held in an atmosphere of frankness and a critical attitude in raising the most difficult and most complicated issues, revealed the extreme importance of drawing on ideological sources, on rich achievements of theory and knowledge, on those principles which, since the very beginning of the working class movement, have determined its strength and its capacity to transform reality into a better future.

Resisting revisionist deviations and dogmatic fossilization, this high forum of the party of the Polish communists clearly determined the road of unity of aims, the road laid down by the debates of the memorable 9th PUWP Congress -- the road of socialist renewal, democratization and deep reforms which the party so consistently and stubbornly fulfils, showing its faithfulness to the programme formulated at that congress.

Showing its faithfulness to the line of the 9th PUWP Congress once again, and dissociating itself from departures from the party's ideals and ideology in the past, the 13th PUWP CC Plenum enriched the party theoretically, integrated and consolidated it around adopted aims.

PAWLOWSKA COMMENTS ON PLPR CONSISTENCY

AU111712 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Oct 83 p 1

[Anna Pawlowska commentary: "Consistency in Thoughts and Actions"]

[Excerpts] The PZPR Central Committee ideological plenum is being awaited by the party with much interest. Party activists expect a lot from it, perhaps even too much. Both life and the practice of politics and economics in Poland have left us with so many questions in the recent past, questions with more than immediate significance, that a single session of even the most competent body cannot give any comprehensive answers immediately.

Socialist Marxist ideology is the driving force behind party activities, while Leninist organizational practice is this ideology's criterion and its examiner.

This dialectic interdependence is indivisible as Karl Marx had already clearly perceived while drawing up his well-known phrase, that earlier philosophic and social doctrines enlightened the world whereas the point was to change it. The experiences of the communist movement, not excluding our own experiences, testify on the other hand to the fact that when political practice is separated from its ideological sources then it leads to adversities and crises.

One of the points for discussion at the 13th PZPR Central Committee plenum will surely be finding an answer to the following difficult question: How should we try to ensure the constant presence of Marxist-Leninist thought in the affairs of every party organization, or in other words, in every area of party practice? The traditional reply, and one that is not, after all, devoid of its principles is, of course, that we should aim to ensure this through general training. It seems, however, that this does not suffice to explain everything. The great art of practicing politics depends precisely on our ability to render our learning into practice.

In taking on the heavy burden of reviving our party after the Ninth PZPR Congress, reconstructing its organizational content and ability to act, as well as its position in society, we were all aware of the fact that the basic condition for implementing this enormous undertaking is to obtain an ideological identity and a unity within the party ranks. No one can doubt that we have not done a lot in this area, perhaps even more than we would have sometimes dared to expect. But the needs that were the result of our current and the long-term party tasks are even greater. In basic issues like the class interpretation of phenomena understanding the essence of social justice, or an appraisal of the stage of development of socialist construction, we cannot let ourselves be ruled by our instincts or by everyday life experiences. The party is aware of this, as are its activists, and it is becoming more and more common and is being felt more directly. It is precisely this awareness and the need for party members to have unequivocal attitudes to everything, a need which is extensively occurring within party organizations, that provides a good groundwork for the impending PZPR Central Committee plenum. If this plenum is followed up by a more obvious use of the principle of unity of thought and actions as a guideline then it will play an important role in bringing the party, its cells, and its members closer to implementing the most significant themes of the Ninth PZPR Congress.

IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING NEEDS INTENSIFICATION

PM141006 Katowice DZIENNIK ZACHODNI in Polish 4 Oct 83 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Alfred Janus, member of PZPR Central Committee, by DZIENNIK ZACHODNI correspondent Antoni Dimanski; date, place not given]

[Text] Domanski: At the Extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress you were elected to the Central Committee. Workers and peasants constitute an overwhelming majority in the latter. What role is given to a worker who is at the same time a member of the highest party structure?

Janus: The work of the Central Committee does not consist exclusively of having plenary sessions -- these do not last long enough for everyone to express their viewpoints. Central Committee members are active in commissions, and these convene more frequently than the plenary sessions. I take part in the work of the Social Policy Commission and the recently formed Maritime Commission. Apart from that, I still remain an ordinary party member. Being retired, I am a member of one of our local party organizations in Sosnowiec, but I continue to maintain close links with my original organizations, that at the Kazimierz-Juliusz colliery, where I was working prior to my retirement. I also take part in the work of the Sosnowiec PZPR Municipal Executive Committee.

The fundamental role to be played by a worker member of the PZPR central executive apparatus consists, in my opinion, in relaying all views and opinions formulated at grassroots level in their true form, without any embellishment or decorative trappings. After all, our central party and government authorities cannot make the right decisions if they lack sound knowledge of the opinions and viewpoints prevalent at the rank and file level. I am convinced that, in contrast to past practice, worker members of the PZPR Central Committee perform this duty well and the Politburo receives reliable information as to what the attitudes are at the grassroots level, as they say. We also relay the opinions and decisions of the leadership, together with their explanation and justification, to rank and file party members. There are enough opportunities for this during the many meetings that we organize at work enterprises with their workforces.

Domanski: Anyone who is not familiar with the PZPR Central Committee's work system might think that its decisions are made strictly at the top leadership level. What, then, is the practical background to the setting up of individual plenary sessions, remembering that the latter sometimes take place at long intervals?

Janus: Decisions made by the Central Committee, that is, Central Committee resolutions, are approved at the sessions. But it would be completely wrong to imagine that they are prepared and worked out in their final form exclusively during the short time devoted to one session. The Central Committee works according to a plan and according to a collegiate system. After the theme of a plenum is announced, several consultations with representatives of party leadership usually take place, and opinion polls are carried out among Central Committee members. All this precedes the process of preparing the final version of the paper and of the accompanying materials. Thus both the paper and the accompanying materials are the result of collective effort. To give you an example, let us take the 13th Central Committee plenum, due to take place in a short time, where the main topic will be the settling of fundamental ideological questions. One consultation, lasting 2 days, with Central Committee members has already taken place and another one is due to take place soon. In the course of the preliminary work our comments and opinions are taken into account, and those, after all, are nothing but the quintessence of opinions formulated within basic party organizations, that is, our field of activity.

Domanski: It is anticipated that the 13th plenum will carry out an analysis of the current state of information and ideological attitudes of party members. What is your assessment of this question?

Janus: In my opinion our party members are, unfortunately, still ideologically under-informed. They lack knowledge of the Marxist view of the world, and this often renders them incapable of putting up an effective fight against the political adversary or drawing the working class closer to us. The coming plenum is sure to result in a decision being made on an intensification of ideological work among all party members. This is an obvious necessity. The 13th plenum must signpost an ideological line that will be clear to all party members. This is essential after the difficult period of vacillation and ideological regression that caused the party some harm. Like everybody else, I am putting great and justified hope in the outcome of the coming plenary deliberations.

Domanski: How, at the present moment, would you rate the ability of rank and file party members to counteract the attacks of the political adversary who, after all, has not disappeared from the scene?

Janus: This remains a difficult question. There has been noticeable improvement in this area, but many party members still stand aside, as it were, waiting to see how the situation develops and do not become involved in the battle of arguments that is, after all, continuing day after day at people's work posts.

This is also the consequence of the fact that the level of ideological knowledge and consciousness is too low. We still have a lot of work to do to raise the level of Marxist-Leninist knowledge and to train a combative, uncompromising aktiv guided by our principles and capable of drawing the masses of rank and file party members toward and with it. The process will take a long time.

Domanski: Thank you.

RZECZYWISTOSC: 'SCHAFF'S STRUGGLE AGAINST LENIN'

AU051330 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish 2 Oct 83 p 2

[Jerzy Pardus commentary: "Schaff's Struggle Against Lenin"]

[Text] Thanks to TU I TERAZ, Adam Schaff, who has until now been practicing Marxism in the seclusion of his study, has made another comeback to Polish readers. He also immediately upset the academic community with his proposals for a "new reading" of Marx, as well as with a remarkable confidence in the infallibility of his own views. However, if we were to read only the works that Adam Schaff has published in Poland then we would probably form the quite mistaken impression that he continues to profess the principles of Marxism and Leninism.

I am fully aware of the fact that this accusation is a very serious one. I can also expect to be called a "Marxist" or even a "Stalinist troglodyte" by Schaff or one of his many ideological friends, instead of receiving a praiseworthy critique. I will, therefore, try to support with evidence my reservations about Adam Schaff's views; after all, it will not be difficult to do.

In the third 1983 issue of the Austrian quarterly EUROPÄISCHE RUNDSCHAU, Adam Schaff published an article entitled "Are Socialist Countries Socialist?" ('Sind die sozialistischen Länder sozialistisch?') and since a critical analysis of many of its points would take a lot of time, I will only deal with one of them here.

A. Schaff writes that "an analysis of the deformity of the countries of 'real socialism' shows that the fundamental reason for this must be sought in the implementation of the socialist revolution, a revolution which would be carried out without the objective or subjective conditions which Marxism defined as being indispensable from the very beginning. A socialist revolution cannot, in accordance with Marxism, be carried out ad libitum, but only when the conditions for it are right, TOGETHER WITH A SOCIAL CONSENSUS' (capitalization -- J.P.).

In other words, Schaff claims that the October Revolution was carried out prematurely, and that neither the objective nor the subjective conditions necessary for implementing it had arisen. He stresses, moreover, that in order to carry out a socialist revolution a social consensus is necessary.

Indeed, according to the first Marxists, the socialist revolution was supposed to have been carried out first in countries where capitalism was fully developed, and then in the others. Lenin made both a theoretical, as well as a practical adjustment, to this thesis. He claimed that the revolution also had the chance of being successful in underdeveloped countries like Russia, on the condition that the right prerequisites had arisen, and he was not, after all, the only one to say this.

While considering which country a socialist revolution could be carried out in, the first Marxists excluded England from these considerations in view of the weak revolutionary nature of the English workers' movement. At the beginning of the 20th century many people, including Karol Kautsky, indicated that the center of the workers' movement was slowly drifting toward Russia (and the situation there in existence in Polish territories was also not without significance).

Among the conditions or rather the prerequisites for the revolution, the following were listed as being objective: the degree of economic development and of the concentration of production (which is measured by calculating the percentage of production that is manufactured by large as well as by small enterprise) and so on; but the following were listed as being subjective: the attitude of the workers' class, its level of awareness, its degree of organization, its numbers, and its awareness of class interests.

Let us note at the same time that the view of revolutionary prerequisites is connected with people's views about the way in which the revolution should be carried out and the role of the middle classes, as well as the issue of winning them over to work for the good of the proletariat. The advocates of the only peaceful method of revolt, like Bernstein and others put emphasis on gaining influence within the society and claimed that the proletariat's influence on the institutions of a

bourgeois state increases in proportion to its force with the aim of changing these institutions into democratic ones. Bernstein's opponents believed that a situation in which the democratic structures of a bourgeois state that is evolving toward socialism could be preserved any longer is unlikely, because the bourgeoisie would push them back, even if they had to stage a coup d'etat to do so, if they realize that this would endanger their domination. History has confirmed the correctness of the views of Bernstein's opponents, including those of Lenin. The latest example of such bourgeois activities was supplied by Chile, when General Allende came to power through a peaceful method (of parliamentary elections) but was overthrown by a military coup d'etat.

It does, in the meantime, appear that Schaff shares the opinions of Bernstein and the social democrats in general.

Let us therefore recall that Lenin believed that a victorious revolution can only be carried out on the condition that there is a strong workers class (that is, depending on its size, its role in the country's economy, its ties with the working masses, and the degree to which it is organized), as well as a strong party (depending on the strength of its strategy, and the quality of its ranks, and so forth). He also believed that the workers class can come to power despite the fact that it does not comprise the majority of the population, because its size is one, but not the only, feature of its strength. Lenin thought that it was also necessary to take the strength of the bourgeoisie into consideration, along with national conflicts, and the occurrence of a revolutionary situation. It was also in this light that he believed that the low level of a country's development does not prevent the implementation of a socialist revolution.

As we can therefore see, Schaff not only rules out Lenin's theoretical tenets, but also closes his eyes to the historical experiences of many countries. This is something that he is, after all, consistent about. He then says that "the change of society's economic structure is absolutely necessary, but it is not a condition that suffices to make the revolution a successful one: its success requires the implementation of other conditions." And this we should agree with, but Adam Schaff then adds in the same breath that "this is why we cannot jump any of the stages on the road to the socialist revolution -- Marx presented this very clearly in DAS KAPITAL. It is why hot-headed 'hurrah revolutionaries' from the Third World especially need, despite their shouts (something which I have frequently experienced), to be brought to their senses with the cold water of ideology.

The 'theory' that says that socialism can be guided in any direction we please in a 'general situation' is false in theory and harmful in practice. We are, of course, talking here about a socialist revolution and not some other kind.

"(...) this results in a definite conclusion for the revolutionaries and the theoreticians. They must learn revolutionary patience as well as teach it to others."

And so the truth is out. Gentlemen, says Schaff, do not embark on a socialist revolution until you have ensured a "social consensus." Third World countries should, on the other hand, go through all the stages of development (first from feudalism to capitalism), wait for the development of the workers class and so on, and only then should they embark on a revolution!

Schaff is basing himself on the mistakes that have been made in the past, as well as on the impatience which occurs the moment that a political revolution is started, and goes all the way through a social revolution. The latter can, as we know, extend over many years and it is a mistake to hurry it along artificially (as for example in Chile). Does this mean that Marxism and Leninism should be discarded? This was done by the Bernstein stream and the Austrian Marxists, and then by the Social Democrats (the contemporary ones) and Schaff has presumably joined them....

PAP VIEWS WARSAW PACT FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING

LD151232 Warsaw PAP in English 1134 GMT 15 Oct 83

["Warsaw Treaty Meeting in Sofia: To Save Peace" -- PAP headline; BY PAP journalist]

[text] Warsaw 14 Oct -- Despite the uniquely dangerous situation resulting from the plans to shortly deploy new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in some West European countries and lack of progress in the Geneva talks on nuclear armaments reductions in Europe, which threatens with an outbreak of nuclear war, foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries, who met in Sofia for two-days talks, perceive a possibility of an agreement to save the world from the disaster of war.

In Sofia again the voice could be heard which called for commonsense and agreement. Warsaw Treaty countries confirmed all the earlier initiatives submitted by the socialist countries, with special reference to those included in The Prague states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty and joint statement issued in Moscow by the leaders of the countries of the socialist commonwealth.

Reaffirmed was the Soviet Union's willingness to further observe its unilateral freeze on medium-range nuclear means in the European part of its territory and to put into effect a unilateral reduction of those means.

Participants in the meeting in Sofia also voiced their conviction that it is still possible to reach such an agreement in Geneva talks as would correspond with the interests of nations.

Warsaw Treaty states called on all NATO countries to concentrate all their efforts to rule out the deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear missiles and to reduce medium-range nuclear means on the continent. They also stressed that no opportunity for reaching agreement corresponding with the interests of all nations should be wasted.

Warsaw Treaty countries made another constructive move towards agreement by calling for continuation of Geneva talks next year with the U.S. and its allies giving up their own deadlines for installing new medium-range missiles. The question is whether the West is going to take up the overwhelming responsibility for stepping up armaments which pose a threat to the existence of mankind or whether it finally gives a positive response to the innumerable disarmament initiatives submitted by the socialist camp

URBAN ON PROTEST AT 'AGGRESSIVE INTERFERENCE'

LD142238 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] The Western press has reported a protest directed by the Polish Government to the Norwegian Government in connection with the award of this year's Nobel Peace Prize. Referring to this, Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban explained to PAP that the ambassadors of Norway and several other Western countries were called to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Representatives of the state authorities in these countries made public statements that constitute interference in Poland's internal affairs. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs rejected the statements and assessments as another sign of aggressive interference into our affairs, leading to the further deterioration of relations between some NATO countries and Poland. This is normal diplomatic practice, Jerzy Urban said. For reasons unknown to us the Norwegian ambassador departed from accepted customs and made a public announcement about his talks at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

PAP NAMES ACTIVISTS RELEASED UNDER AMNESTY LAW

LD142259 Warsaw PAP in English 2152 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Warsaw 14 Oct -- Applications are made every day by those who want to take advantage of the Amnesty Act. This legal act meets with an ever broader response among those who, under martial law or at the time it was suspended, took up political activity contrary to law. 407 people came out of hiding by October 12. Recently, the following persons have reported:

Stanislaw Spfawski, [spelling as received] vice-chairman of the former main board of Solidarnosc Opbrzeze chapter in Koszalin, northern Poland, who said that under martial law he had participated in the work of the regional striking committee in Koszalin.

Wladyslaw Janczy, a driver from the Ursus tractor factory near Warsaw and chairman of the former Solidarnosc union at the factory's [words indistinct] in the past, reported that after martial law had been introduced he collected money for the suspended union and distributed illegal publications. He resumed this activity, stopped by his internment, in November 1982 and continued it until July 1983.

Andrzej Gorski, former employee of an internal trade enterprise in Warsaw, founder of a Solidarnosc circle in that enterprise and an activist of the Nowa Publishing House, who has been in hiding since December 13, 1981, stated that after the introduction of martial law he organized clandestine TYGODNIK MAZOWSZE (THE MAZOWSZE WEEKLY). He handed over several hundred copies of bulletins prepared for publication.

All those coming out of hiding were released after fulfilling necessary formalities provided for by the law.

PLANINC AGREES TO PAPANDREOU BALKANS MEETINGS

LD142358 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1411 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Oct (TANJUG) -- Svetislav Vujovic, spokesman for the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, has made the following statement to the TANJUG diplomatic editor in connection with the reply sent by Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, to the latest message from Andreas Papandreu, Greek prime minister, on the proposed meeting of experts of the Balkan countries in Athens:

"Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, has recently replied to Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu's latest message in the spirit of other messages previously exchanged between the two countries' heads of government. She was glad to be able to reply in the affirmative to the proposed date and agenda of the forthcoming meetings of Balkan countries' experts in Athens. In her message the president of the Federal Executive Council stresses that the proposed agenda provides an opportunity for a broad exchange of views and for coordinating a program of continuing efforts made by Balkan countries in developing the idea on the creation in the Balkans of a zone of peace and cooperation, free of nuclear weapons, and turning this into reality. We value in particular the fact that measures to strengthen cooperation, trust and security in this region are top of the agenda; the credibility of actions aimed at turning the Balkan peninsula into a nuclear weapons free zone depends to a great extent on this.

"This will also offer an opportunity to examine a broad array of issues, including the principles of good-neighborly relations. These two areas, the reply underlines, are mutually linked and should therefore be essentially treated as a whole with the aim of turning the Balkans into a zone of peace and cooperation.

"In her reply to Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu, Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, expresses the conviction that launching this useful process of reviewing the issues relating to turning the Balkans into a zone of peace and cooperation free from nuclear weapons will yield specific results, and with this aim in view the Yugoslav delegation will make its full contribution to the successful work of the meetings of experts in Athens."

LEADERS VISIT IRAQ; IRAQI DELEGATION RECEIVED

Planinc Leaves 16 Oct

LD161528 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 16 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Oct (TANJUG) -- Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, left Belgrade this afternoon for a 3-day return visit to Iraq. Mirko Ostojic, deputy federal secretary of foreign affairs, left with Milka Planinc. At Surcin Airport the Yugoslav delegation was seen off by Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary of foreign affairs, by other representatives of Yugoslav sociopolitical life, and by representatives from the Iraqi Embassy in our country.

Makes Statement on Arrival

LD162143 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2043 GMT 16 Oct 83

[Text] Baghdad, 16 Oct (TANJUG) -- Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, stated in Baghdad this evening at the start of her 2-day official visit to Iraq that the purpose of her visit was the further promotion of friendly relations between Yugoslavia and Iraq.

Milka Planinc and the members of the Yugoslav delegation were met at the airport by Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolution Command Council and first deputy prime minister; Hasan Ali, Iraqi minister of trade; and other high-ranking Iraqi personalities. Also on hand were Zvone Dragan, vice president of the Federal Executive Council; and Abdullah Mutapcic, member of the Federal Executive Council, who arrived in Baghdad 2 days ago. Arriving together with Milka Planinc in Baghdad were: Mirko Ostojic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs; Dragan Kontic, foreign affairs adviser to the president of the Federal Executive Council; Dusan Litvinovic, head of the Middle East and North Africa Department in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs; and other personalities.

During her 2-day visit to Baghdad Milka Planinc will hold talks with her host, Taha Yasin Ramadan, and other prominent Iraqi leaders, on international and Middle East issues and cooperation between Yugoslavia and Iraq.

Dragan Arrives

LD141447 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1413 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade 14 Oct (TANJUG) -- Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, will shortly pay a return official and friendly visit to the Republic of Iraq at the invitation of Taha Yasin, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and first deputy premier of the Republic of Iraq. Zvone Dragan, vice president of the Federal Executive Council and chairman of the Yugoslav part of the Joint Committee for Economic Cooperation With Iraq, today arrived in Baghdad with the first part of the delegation which will hold talks on the topical questions of bilateral cooperation between Iraq and Yugoslavia before the visit of the president of the Federal Executive Council.

Gracanin Meets Iraqi Guests

LD151047 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Oct (TANJUG) -- Colonel General Petar Gracanin, chief of General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, today received at the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, Major General Tariq Mahmud Shukri, who is leading a delegation of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Iraq to our country and its armed forces. The talks held on this occasion concerned further promotion of relations and cooperation between the armies of the two friendly and nonaligned countries.

The talks were attended by Major General Zivorad Lazarevic and other officers of the Yugoslav People's Army, and Lieutenant Colonel 'Abd as-Salam Mahamad 'Ali, military, naval and air attache of the Republic of Iraq in Belgrade.

SUNDIC ON DEVELOPMENTS IN IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT

LD142156 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Our foreign political commentary deals with rumors claiming that the Iraq-Iran war could be internationalized. Milika Sundic says that a solution imposed on from the conflict outside would, in the eyes of the belligerents, be the worst possible solution.

[Sundic] At the outset of the Iraq-Iran conflict, people might have thought that the conflict would last for a week or two. One might also have thought that no outsider would interfere in the conflict between the two neighboring countries that until then had been on friendly terms. Now, however, three years after the war's inception, the questions one faces are quite different.

The original estimate on the duration of the conflict was quickly shown to be wrong by developments on the front line. Moreover, the possibility of an interference by third countries in the Iraq-Iran conflict seems increasingly likely. It is no secret that both Iraq and Iran have received arms from outside and that this has exhausted both countries to the extent that they have to go on buying arms on increasingly harder terms. This particularly applies to Iraq, which, unlike Iran, cannot put its oil into the world market, at least not in quantities sufficient to cover the costs of a war of attrition. This is why Iraq has recently attempted to prevent Iran from selling its oil. However, Iraq has not yet received the missile-carrying aircraft that it ordered from France and which have already been paid for. These aircraft proved to be highly efficient against British warships during the short but costly crisis over the Malvinas. France has played the Iraqi card, not without reason, but it is also afraid of consequences from a decision to meet the obligation to deliver the aircraft.

The Americans and the British, on the other hand, have reasons of their own for seeing the conflict in the Persian, or the Arab, Gulf end as soon as possible. It is doubtful, however, if this aim can be achieved by imposing their own solutions on the belligerent sides. Let us recall that Iran has recently threatened to close the Strait of Hormuz, if necessary. Such action would halt the oil deliveries to Western Europe and to the West as a whole. True enough, military experts in the West insist that Iran is not able either technically or militarily to close the Strait of Hormuz, however, should this nevertheless happen, we can expect even worse things. Already in Carter's days the Americans threatened to use force if Iran closed the Strait of Hormuz, the likelihood of which seemed imminent. The Iranian warning that should the Americans implement the threat, then World War III would erupt, would be a realistic prediction only if both superpowers were to get involved in the conflict -- which is unlikely to happen. On the other hand, even if this didn't happen, an internationalization of the conflict in the conflict in the Gulf would be extremely dangerous.

Throughout the Iraq-Iran conflict the Western countries have done hardly anything to use their influence in effecting a peaceful solution to the Iraq-Iran conflict, as has repeatedly been done by nonaligned countries. Not only have they failed to do so, though it goes without saying that there are some exceptions, but they have even fomented the conflict in one way or another.

It is true, however, that none of this would have had the consequences of which almost everybody is aware today, if the two belligerent sides had given more thought to what their mutual settling of accounts could develop into or, in other words, if they had accepted in good time the advice proffered by friendly countries that kept telling them from the very start that war would harm them most. It is also true that it would not be too late even now if Iraq and Iran were to understand that the worst solution would be a solution imposed on them, and if they would relinquish the hope of ending the war by defeating the opponent.

AUTHOR OF 'ORLANDI' CASE LETTER IDENTIFIED

LD151156 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0908 GMT 15 Oct 83

[Text] Titograd, Oct 15 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav police have identified the author of a letter allegedly providing details of the 'Orlandi' case. This author, it seems, is mentally disturbed. He is Radivoj Lakic (25), from Titograd, Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro. The letter to the Italian news agency ANSA in Rome contains fantastic claims about a Yugoslav band of criminals in Titograd holding several Turkish citizens as prisoners. These citizens, presumably drug smugglers, supposedly know the whereabouts of Emanuela Orlandi, the 15-year-old girl from Rome who disappeared on 22 June.

The Yugoslav police have found proofs that Lakic, a tractor driver, had sent similar letters to the authorities of other countries, introducing himself as a private detective and offering his services to solve mysterious cases reported in the press. Lakic has been arrested and will undergo a psychiatric examination.

DOLANC, AUSTRIAN MINISTER DISCUSS SECURITY ISSUES

LD151738 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 15 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Oct (TANJUG) -- Stane Dolanc, member of the federal Executive Council and Federal Secretary of Internal Affairs, and Karl Blecham, Austrian minister of internal affairs, and their associates, held a working meeting, as part of their regular contacts. The meeting, which lasted for several hours, was held in a friendly and open atmosphere. The ministers assessed the present cooperation between the internal affairs organs of the two neighboring and friendly countries as very good. They expressed their readiness to promote this cooperation on all levels, agreeing that favorable conditions for this are present.

During their talks Federal Secretary Dolanc and Minister Blecha focused their attention on questions of the struggle against all forms of terrorism and other aspects of organized crime: smuggling, money forgery, and drugs and narcotics trafficking.

In addition to questions of bilateral cooperation and further promotion of work contacts between the representatives of the two government departments, Federal Secretary Dolanc and Minister Blecha discussed questions pertaining to border cooperation, local border trade and control of border crossings. Cooperation in controlling the traffic at the height of the tourist season was assessed as especially positive.

Karl Blecha and his associates conveyed to the Yugoslav delegation [Austrian Innsbruck winter Olympics] their experience in connection with the security issues relating to the organization of the 14th winter Olympic games which will be held in Sarajevo, February 1984. In this connection, questions of cooperation between SFRY and Austrian security organs were outlined in precise detail. They agreed to have further work contacts on all levels between the two services in connection with the security aspect of the Sarajevo Olympic games. They also talked about other issues relating to the activity of the security organs of the two countries.

DELEGATION MEETS DUTCH OFFICIALS ,DEPARTS

LD162258 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2002 GMT 16 Oct 83

[Text] The Hague, October 16 (TANJUG) -- In the talks between a delegation of the Assembly of Yugoslavia and representatives of the Dutch parliament, deep concern has been voiced over the intensifying arms race, especially in Europe. Both countries stated the readiness to continue efforts at finding a solution to such a situation in negotiations and not in confrontation.

The Dutch side said it intends to continue support of Yugoslavia's long-term economic stabilization programme.

The Yugoslav parliamentary delegation, led by chairman of the Assembly of Yugoslavia's foreign policy committee, Anton Vratusa, was received by Prime Minister Lubbers and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs van Eekelen. The Yugoslav delegation ended visit to the Netherlands today (Sunday, 16 October).

VOJVODINA LC PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE ON OPPOSITION

LD072031 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1147 GMT 7 Oct 83

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 7 Oct (TANJUG) -- Time requires that we do more in the struggle for economic stabilization and that we use properly our enormous possibilities for faster social and material progress. The activity in this respect is very weak, not at all comprehensive, sufficiently organized and coordinated, nor specific to a sufficient degree. There is still too much formality toward the adopted tasks. There is also verbalism, and not enough creative and well-prepared actions by the communists in their environments.

This critical and self-critical assessment was contained in the report by Slavko Veselinov, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, submitted to today's session of the Provincial Committee. He added that although we cannot be satisfied with the entire situation we should also not underestimate the efforts and results which have been made and achieved in many environments.

According to Veselinov, liberalist tendencies in the League of Communists, in its organs and organizations, have become stronger. Opportunism has become very resistant. This enables the appearance of forces that openly advocate changing the bases of the political and socioeconomic system. The trends of statism, isolation and egotistic behavior, leading to disruption of the bases of the united Yugoslav market and to practical obstruction of the stances on the foreign exchange market, have invaded the economic life. Hand in hand with this goes the organization of an opposition front on an anti-communist basis. It can be said that today there is an aggressive and already open and legal activity by nationalist, anarcho-liberalist, bureaucratic-statist and other ideological adversaries and a penetration of these views and ideas, especially into the public information media. Everything, the achievements of the revolution, the system and the League of Communists bear the brunt of the opposition forces. There are increasingly numerous and strong attempts ideologically to disarm the League of Communists, to discredit it morally and politically, isolate it from the working people, and push it to the periphery of social developments.

The president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee pointed out that many communists are evading the ideological struggle and confrontation with the ideological adversaries in the areas of spiritual creativeness, science and culture. They are adopting a wait-and-see and neutral attitude toward the tide of anti-communist tendencies. He then stated that the ideological front of struggle in the province is poorly organized, fragmented and also insufficiently acute.

President Veselinov drew attention to the fact that we are faced with an opposition activity of varied tendencies and forces, whose common denominator is the attempt to question the foundations of the socialist self-managing transformation of society, by dismissing the presently achieved positive results and projected directions of development. He stated that the attack on the delegate system is based on practical shortcomings in its functioning. The criticism of the free exchange of work and self-managing interest communities, and the nipping of solutions in the bud, has been going on for years.

There is also criticism of the constitutional concept of the federal arrangement in Yugoslavia, whose application has apparently caused the independence of the republics and provinces, that is "decentralized statism," destruction of unity, and undermining of the Yugoslav market. In other words, the constitutional concept of the Yugoslav federalism, as elaborated in the 1974 Constitution, is the reason for the phenomena of disintegration of our society. In addition to these theses, especially lately there have been attempts to raise the question of political pluralism.

Citing these few examples of criticism of the constitutional solutions by the opposition, and others, Veselinov said that they illustrate the ideological background of opposition activity. This criticism becomes criticism of what is essential, meaning, criticism "in part" becomes criticism of the whole. As communists and Marxists we have never been against changes when, of course, life and social practice warrant them. On the contrary, we have always been a step ahead in opening the room for self-managing relations. This is why we also introduced this into our program. However, we oppose all attempts to introduce instability into the most sensitive sphere: the functioning of the system.

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA PRESIDENCY MEETS ON SECURITY

LD151053 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1420 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Sarajevo, 14 Oct (TANJUG) -- At a session chaired by Milanko Renovica, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina gave its support to the draft tasks in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina relating to realization of the program of measures and activities by Yugoslavia in implementing the decisions of the seventh nonaligned conference. During the debate on this document, to be adopted by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly, a large number of proposals and suggestions were put forward to further specify the tasks and activities of factors responsible for international activity in the republic. The Presidency adopted a report on certain characteristics of the operation of the external and internal enemy and on the security aspects of the state of public law and order and the crime figures in the first half of 1983. On the basis of the submitted evaluations the Presidency ratified measures and activities to be undertaken in the system of social self-protection aimed at further effectively suppressing all forms of hostile activity and preventing and eliminating the causes of economic crime and violation of public law and order.

Reviewing information on the state of organization, equipment and training of stations of the reserve militia, maneuver militia and special militia units in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Presidency concluded that important results have been achieved in this regard. As a result of the efforts made, the reserve militia personnel have become an important factor in securing public law and order, defending the lives and property of citizens, and securing traffic safety and other general safety elements in conditions of emergency in the event of war. The reserve militia personnel also have an important role in maintaining public law and order in peace time. The Presidency drew attention to the tasks and activities that must be undertaken in further organizing, equipping and training reserve militia stations. The Presidency adopted a report on the state of security of installations of particular importance for the country's defense on the republic's territory. It was stated that in a number of organizations of associated labor due attention is not given to securing installations, and that it is thus essential to increase the responsibility of self-managing and managerial organs in organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities for undertaking every measure needed to secure installations effectively, to equip and train security services and ensure conscientious execution of tasks involved.

POZDERAC CHAIRS BOSNIA, HERCEGOVINA LC SESSION

LD142339 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1418 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Sarajevo, 14 Oct (TANJUG) -- Hamdija Pozderac chaired a session today on preparations for the next session of the LCY Central Committee, in which the Bosnia and Herzegovina League of Communists Central Committee Presidium discussed a number of topical questions of ideopolitical activity aimed at implementing the long-term program of economic stabilization.

The Presidium is reported to have been informed at the session about recent excesses by individuals in the local communities of Slatina and Rajseva in the municipality of Teslic, which had nationalist and chauvinist characteristics. In this connection, the Presidium decided that it is indispensable to start, without delay, an organized social ideopolitical action of all subjective forces of the commune against such phenomena and behavior. The Bosnia and Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee Presidium took a critical view of the activity of Communists in these local communities and the activity of the Teslic League of Communists Municipal Committee, which failed to take timely ideopolitical action to suppress the above-mentioned nationalist and chauvinist phenomena.

The Presidium also considered the preparations for the next session of the Bosnia and Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee which will discuss the topical ideopolitical tasks of the Bosnia and Hercegovina League of Communists in the further socialist transformation of culture. The Presidium decided that the Central Committee session should be held in the first half of 1984.

LCY CC PRESIDUM DISCUSSES NEXT CC SESSION

LD142308 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1815 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Oct (TANJUG) -- The LCY Central Committee Presidium today considered the preparations for the next LCY Central Committee session. It decided that the LCY Central Committee should hold its next session on 25 October 1983. At this session the Central Committee will consider the current political and economic situation in the country and establish the League of Communists' tasks in this connection. The Presidium also considered other matters concerning its regular activity.

THREE LC MEMBERS 'PUNISHED' IN KOTOR

LD141139 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0920 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Kotor 14 Oct (TANJUG) -- After a 9-hour thorough discussion on the state of relations in the basic organization of the League of Communists "Dobrota Dva," which, to a large extent has been of concern to the greater part of the public recently, the Kotor Municipal Committee of the LC yesterday adopted decisions to put an end to inflamed emotions on the part of many Communists in this organization.

The 9-month organized confrontation between the basic organization of the League of Communists "Dobrota Dva" and the party organs in the commune in connection with the assessment of the activity of the honorary correspondent of POLITIKA found its epilogue in sharp measures of moral-political responsibility for a number of members of the League of Communists. The municipal committee unanimously decided to expell from the League of Communists Luka Lubarda, Trivo Zolan and Radisa Majstorovic for presumably opportunist and factional activities. Warnings and last warnings were issued to seven others, while eight were subjected to comradely criticism. They include the complete Secretariat of this basic organization of the League of Communists. Comradely criticism was also addressed by unanimous decision to the entire basic organization of the League of Communists "Dobrota Dva." As is known, this organization of the League of Communists, which is the largest in Kotor (over 130 members), has not accepted the assessments and stances of the Municipal Committee of the League of Communists regarding working methods employed during the investigation of the work and activity of Radisa Majstorovic, honorary correspondent of POLITIKA in Kotor. Instead of carrying the concrete task, the organization undertook private investigation against several former municipal officials whom Majstorovic reported for malversations designed to gain material benefit at the expense of social property.

As the endeavor by the municipal committee to return the matter to the right channels failed to produce results, the committee applied the provisions of the articles 25 and 26 of the statute of the Montenegro lc and made a decision on these questions in the conviction that the said ideo-political measures would positively influence the settlement of relations in this until recently exemplary organization of the League of Communists.

RILINDJA REJECTS 'MACEDONIAN MUSLIM' ACCUSATIONS

LD132044 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1741 GMT 13 Oct 83

[Text] Pristina, 13 Oct (TANJUG) -- In its issue due to be published tomorrow, the Pristina newspaper RILINDJA carries an editorial commentary saying that the accusations voiced in the Debar District which have been reported by TANJUG "from the mouths of so-called Macedonian Muslim activists" are unacceptable, and describes them as label-sticking. These accusations have disturbed RILINDJA's workers, especially journalists, who, the commentary says, "have for 3 years now, as before, waged a merciless struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism." Consequently, the accusations made at the unusual meeting in the Debar District, however ridiculous and naive, are also harmful to the struggle and to the mobilization of all in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism and also to all other nationalisms. In fact, views of this kind make one feel that the need for struggle against various deformations and deviations has not been equally understood everywhere.

Attacks, the commentary goes on, cannot justify the mistakes which were made and are being made in the sphere of the realization of equality between nations and nationalities, because everybody knows that every citizen has the right to use his language and script freely "even in the case of personal names, folklore, place names and in using the grade book at school." All this represents an unprecedented service to the reactionary forces and especially the Albanian nationalists and irredentists and stirs up other nationalisms, which too, according to RILINDJA have reared their heads. Referring repeatedly in its article to the phrase "so-called Macedonian Muslim activists", RILINDJA explains that another reason why it cannot accept these accusations is "that it has never tried to make Macedonians or anyone else call Pec Peja, Urosevac Ferizaj or Djakovica Djakova, since it was convinced that this was a linguistic question and that every Macedonian, and every other nation and nationality, has the right to decide what place names to use in keeping with tradition and the nature of his language, and says that it has never tried to remove suffixes from or add them to personal names." After saying that it has never been its practice to play the role of the protector of the nations and even less to be the patron of the Albanians in Macedonia, RILINDJA stresses in its commentary that it has not renounced either the struggle against Albanian nationalism nor the affirmation of the national entity. We remain convinced, the commentary ends, that this kind of accusation, fabrication and slander, which is likely to appear again in the future either because of lack of objective reporting or because of dark and tendentious aim, will be prevented by the progressive forces of Macedonia, primarily by communists.

'POWERFUL' EXPLOSIONS IN PRISTINA CITY CENTER

LD152156 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2118 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Pristina, 14 Oct (TANJUG) -- Two strong explosions, which gave rise to anxiety among citizens in the center of the city, occurred in Pristina this evening within the interval of half-an-hour. The first explosion occurred at 2050 in the Republic Square, breaking glass in the windows of the Yugoslav Investment Bank. Just half-an-hour later, at about 2120, another powerful explosion was heard in the city center.

SEVEN IMPRISONED FOR 'ALBANIAN IRREDENTISM'

LD141842 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1731 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Text] Pristina, 14 Oct (TANJUG) -- The Pristina District Court today passed sentences of between 3 and 9 years imprisonment on seven members of a hostile group that operated from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

Dzevad Zekaj was sentenced to 9 years imprisonment, Ismet Avdulji and Ramiz Dakaj to 7 years, and Camilj Cadraku and Adem Krasnici to 6 years, for the crime of joining together for hostile activity purposes against our country's social order.

As cited in the indictment and proven at today's proceedings, following the counterrevolutionary events of 1981 they at first held conversations hostile in content, supported demonstrations and spread lies to the effect that Kosovo was exploited. Soon afterward, on the initiative of Zekaj and Cadraku, they formed in Zekaj's apartment a hostile illegal group and swore an oath before the Albanian flag to take action against the constitutional order of Yugoslavia. They wrote and read a great deal of material hostile in content, and sent anonymous letters to sociopolitical organs and officials. They held a meeting on 10 March of this year in Zekaj's apartment at which they decided to organize and go out to demonstrations to mark the second anniversary of the first hostile events. On the anniversary of the death of the Grvala brothers and of Kadri Zeka, who were well known for hostile activity among emigres, they disseminated hostile pamphlets around Pristina bearing the title "The People Will Avenge You," and also gave them to their friends to disseminate.

Nuhi Kakaj was sentenced to 3 years in prison, the same time as this group, for disseminating pamphlets, that is, for the crime of hostile propaganda.

SOCCER 'ROWDIES' VIEWED AS ALBANIAN IRREDENTISTS

LD162127 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1731 GMT 16 Oct 83

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 16 Oct (TANJUG) -- During the soccer game between Crvena Zvezda and Pristina in Belgrade this afternoon those people who come to football matches not because of football but primarily to indulge in provocative nationalistic excesses, were heard once again. At one of the stands of the popular Belgrade Marakana football ground, calls of "E-Ho," "E-Ho" were heard, a call that is a well-known shortened form of those made by Albanian irredentists and is supposed to mean Enver Hoxha. The fact that these provocators were bold enough to even come with their primitive nationalistic arsenal into our capital city will hardly surprise anyone, because they have not been heard shouting this for the first time and no one is stopping them. At the end of August they were noisily shouting the same slogans in Pristina when Partizan [another Belgrade soccer team] was playing there, but when attention was drawn to that fact by a Belgrade daily, the presidium of the Pristina Football Club hastened to reply with a firm denial of the charge that the club's supporters had been chanting "Enver Hoxha."

In the context of the events during that match and during the match today, and also what happened in between, any clowning, and especially any attempt to gloss over things, must have very serious political implications indeed. Just over 2 years ago there were people, and, moreover, people who were holding very important positions at the time, who wanted to describe the attempt at counterrevolution in Kosovo as "an innocuous product of student revelry." Everyone knows full well how events unfolded and what damage has been caused to the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, to the Socialist Republic of Serbia and to the SFRY as a whole.

To hush things up is not the right way to trim the outspread wings of the ominous double-headed eagle of Albanian irredentists who are trying to use sports events for their own sinister aims. Be that as it may, it is certain that the communists of the Pristina Football Club have enough strength to look at facts in the eye and also the strength in future to foil the excesses in their own ground and in other sports grounds too.

Other factors should be recalled too because club supporters in other cities in our country are not immune from nationalistic and chauvinistic outbursts. One thing is clear however: Today -- and earlier -- these verbal rowdies in stadiums do not root for Pristina Football Club but for irredentism. They do not express support for their clubs but for nationalism, and these are the evils that this society has known and will know how to settle scores with. It would be dangerous merely to hush up things, which is what some politicians in Pristina tried to do in August. The worst thing is to do nothing.

Those who with their naivete clearly defend the irredentists by "explaining" the alleged sports motives of their nationalist excesses will certainly be regarded by participants in this dirty business, wherever it happens and whatever it may be.

FEDERATION COUNCIL ON SITUATION, RELATIONS IN SFRY

AU142043 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 13 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Oct (TANJUG) -- Today in Belgrade, the Council of the Federation held a session in the SFRY Assembly building. Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, presided.

Sergej Kraigher, member of the SFRY Presidency, Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council; and Zvone Dragan, vice president of the Federal Executive Council; informed the members of the council on the current economic situation in the country and the implementation of the long-term economic stabilization program. Following these exhaustive reports, members of the council held a discussion during which they spoke critically about the present situation and relations in the country. During the discussion, several suggestions and many proposals were made which, as the council concluded, will be put in order and then submitted to the competent state and social organizations for consideration.

[Belgrade TANJUG Domestic in Serbo-Croatian at 1240 GMT on 13 October on its second channel carries the following service message:

["Attention editorial offices:

["We have been requested to transmit to you the message that, in reporting on today's session of the Council of the Federation, you use exclusively the announcement which will be transmitted by TANJUG. 13 October 1983. Signed: Duty editor, Internal Political Editorial Section."]

CROATIAN LC SPONSORED REVISIONIST CLAIMS SESSION

LD141154 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0605 GMT 14 Oct 83

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 14 Oct (TANJUG) -- The recent history of our nations and nationalities is directly connected with events today. Public interest in the elaboration of this theme is therefore understandable. The decisive events, such as those occurring in 1918, 1941, 1945, and 1948, are not only the subject of scientific study but also of books, memoirs, articles, interviews, and various literary works.

"The Vladimir Bakaric Center for Ideological-Theoretical Work of the Central Committee of the Croatia LC and the Commission for Ideological Work and information of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia organized a 2-day discussion at the end of last week. Approximately 120 participants from all over the country devoted their attention to the works which by their content and message provoked bitter debates, polemics and controversial assessments, as well as uneasiness among the public. This includes studies, memoires, feuilletons and literary works on historic themes, as well as statements on various tribunes without real scientific value or basis.

The advantages and dangers, as well as the responsibility of this production, lies in the fact -- constantly confirmed by experience -- that it is by far more easily and comprehensively accessible to the public than scientific works.

Various kinds of text which reevaluate and, without arguments, reinterpret our recent history contain differences; but their basic line is the same. Fabijan Trgo says that this line "negates the historic meaning of the revolution." Explaining this line concisely, Trgo listed a few theses which permeate these works. One of them is that "the bourgeois society between the two wars had a historic prospect during which there existed the possibility of further developing bourgeois democracy."

"This thesis should de facto serve ideological purposes and represents in the final analysis direct political manipulation. In other words, ideology and politics are discussed under the pretext of science. Our revolution is disputed and represented as the struggle of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for power," Trgo said.

Another thesis, another "line," is that "the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was a blind tool of the Soviet Government through the Comintern -- the executor of foreign will."

The third thesis of this line listed by Trgo is that "the Communist Party of Yugoslavia sought alliance with antifascist democratic wings of the bourgeois party leaderships, while in practice it sought and later imposed its absolute power."

After assessing the situation and the basic lines of these public appearances, the participants in the discussion also paid great attention to the aims of these destructive approaches to recent history.

Franc Sali considers that "the aim is to check and perhaps reverse the clock of revolution. Their strategy is to undermine the theoretical bases of the League of Communists and at the same time morally discredit its political work and achievements in strengthening socialist self-managing democracy. This is in fact a struggle against the institutions of self-managing pluralism and the system that makes it possible in order to create favorable social conditions for the penetration of political pluralism."

The appearance of a considerable number of memoires, Spiro Galovic noted, "is not something undesirable, imposed, or subversive. It can be evidence of development, diversity, and the cultural maturity of a society." Disagreements appear, Galovic emphasized, because among other things we want these works to be something that they are not and cannot be. The right to a subjective experience of personalities and events is being denied. On the other hand, a subjective approach to historic material has its limits. These limits cannot be taken as absolute, which means that they should not be abused.

Smiljana Djurovic also spoke about this theme. She said: "the sensational and loud revelation of the so-called 'great truths' and 'taboo-themes' in the daily press, feuilletons, and memoires in recent years has provoked great emotions, total confusion, and powerful mistaken notions in the consciousness of individuals, while the public in fact does not know what it is all about. Under the slogan of revealing the so-called 'taboo-themes' and truths beyond truths, hardly greater attempts could have been made so far in our country to create untruths."

Smiljana Djurovic also pointed out the fact that our public treated the memoires and feuilletons equally with the modern contemporary Marxist science, "thus creating total confusion because it is disinformation."

The 2-day discussion also did not avoid the reasons for the appearance of such publications which claim to be scientific or at least a contribution to the preparation of such works.

Gordana Vljacic pointed out three reasons as she saw them. The first is that books in our society are goods like any other goods on the market and the publishing organizations must conquer this market. The publications which irritate us are the result of pure commercialism or pure political subversion, or perhaps a mixture of both. The second reason lies in a certain crisis of the contemporary Yugoslav society which is reflected in all spheres. The third reason for the flood of such works lies "in the authority of the name of the people who write them, be they authors or reviewers, who for years have been creating their privileged position and an image of themselves."

Much was said about how to resist these works. The role of the publishing councils, reviewers, and public scientific criticism was pointed out. The participants in the discussion agreed the assessment that there was not enough of such criticism.

COMMODITY EXCHANGE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH ALBANIA

LD071806 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1637 GMT 7 Oct 83

[Text] Tirana, Oct 7 (TANJUG) -- In Tirana today, Friday, a protocol on commodity exchange between Yugoslavia and Albania for 1984 was signed providing for the total volume of 112 million dollars, an increase of [number indistinct] per cent in real terms relative to this year.

It is estimated that the volume of trade between the two countries this year will amount to 100 million dollars.

The protocol was signed by Assistant Yugoslav Secretary for Foreign Trade Metodij Smilevski and by Deputy Foreign Trade Minister of Albania Marko Xega.

The 1984 protocol provides for enlarged assortment of commodities.